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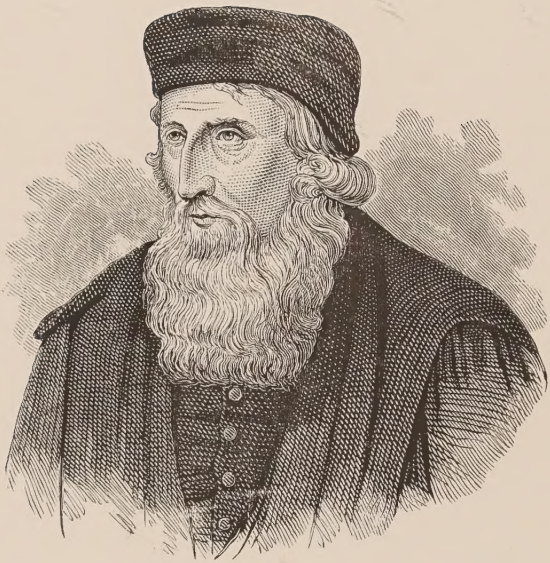

JOHN WYCLIFFE.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF DODDRIDGE.

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BY

THOMAS ARNOLD

AND

J. J. COOPER.

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DEDICATION.

We lovingly dedicate this volume to the youth of the congregation, in the earnest hope that through the study of the rise and progress of their own church they may be better prepared to defend its honour and extend its work.

Thomas Arnold,

Joseph J. Cooper.

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PREFACE.

Doddridge Chapel is an old landmark of Free Church life. It has preserved one of the bounds of Nonconformity in Northampton for two hundred years. A Congregational Church which has lived so long must have lived so well as to deserve being singled out from the miscellany of life. It has had many ministers and members worthy of honour, who being dead still speak, and will speak in the coming years. Philip Doddridge naturally fills the largest space in its history. The sun outshines the planets, but it belongs to a system of which the planets are also an important part. Doddridge was possible only through the labour of those before him, and his ministry has been extended and enriched by his dynamic force in those who followed. This is a history of his church, not another life of him. In what is said of him if there is not much fresh matter, the subject gains freshness by the different setting. It is shown that in the person of Doddridge there is a link of connection with both English and Bohemian reformers through Wycliffe and the Lollards. This exhibits the continuity both of the church as a living organism and of the doctrine of salvation by grace; a truth of special importance in these days when the delusion of an "Historic Episcopate" is pushed with such unwarranted assumption. This distinguished man is here set in the framework of his labours in Northampton as pastor of a living church, and as Principal of a notable Academy. The story of his birth and training, his industry and learning, his piety and self-devotion, his patriotism and chivalry, "A province packed up in two yards of skin," while all this has been admirably told by Drs. Orton, Stoughton, and Stanford, it has been Mr. Arnold's special object in the sketch of his character, method, and spirit, in his double office of pastor and tutor, to endeavour more fully to exhibit the principles of his spiritual life, his eminent fitness for preaching and teaching, and his great ability as a pastor to organize the church, so that it might be conscious of its unity and progress in the Christian life.

In preparing the volume we have thought of our young people who know too little of their heritage of honour in being the descendants of men who saved us from the bondage of a State Church and the entanglements of Ritualism. They have too seldom heard the reasons for our Nonconformity; not often enough been brought face to face with the errors which made and keep us Dissenters, and the loss of some who have drifted away from us may be traced to this neglect. But the pulpit of Doddridge has not been made the platform of polemics. As we adhere to the constitution of the Apostolic Church, we hold Apostolic doctrine, and "know nothing among men save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," the central fact of human history, the supreme argument of Divine Love.

We have gathered up the fragments of our Church life wherever we could find them, and now for the first time present them in a connected form as a memorial of our Bi-centenary. Mr. Arnold has written of Doddridge and those before him; it has been my task to write of his successors. Access to some of the sources of our history was freely given by the Rev. S. Newth, D.D., of New College, and Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton; to Mr. Henry Cooper, of Northampton, we are indebted for the illustrations: to these gentlemen we beg to express our heartiest thanks.

J. J. COOPER.

Northampton,
September, 1895.

INDEX.

Page

CASTLE HILLS 1

LUTTERWORTH.—JOHN WYCLIFFE.—Translates the Scriptures, His Reformation essentially Biblical, Summary of his Doctrines, page 5; His Character, 3; Poor Priests his Missionaries, 4; His place in the Bohemian Reformation, 6; John Huss and Jerome of Prague burned at Constance for preaching the doctrines of Wycliffe, 7; Political effects ascribed to his teaching, Wat Tyler leads an Insurrection, 8; *De heretico comburendo* Act, 9; Reading and Preaching the Scriptures by the poor priests, followed by many Conversions, Association of Christian Brothers, 10; Wycliffe's opposition to the Friars and Clergy for their misappropriation of the Monies given to the Poor leads to greater Persecution, 11; Increase of the Lollards, 11, ... 12

THE SECOND REFORMATION.—Erasmus publishes the Greek New Testament and by reading it Bilney, Fryth, Barnes, Tyndal, and Latymer are converted and founded the New English Reformation, 13; Spreads in Lincolnshire, 13; Persecution renewed, 14; Tyndal translates the Bible, 14; Opposition of the Clergy, Cranmer obtains the King's sanction to its publication, Coverdale assists in collecting the parts already published, In 1563 its publication by Royal Authority and its reading promotes the Reformation, 15; Henry VIII. did little but oppose the Reformation 13

PROGRESS OF REFORM.—Queen Elizabeth partly favours it through the translation of all the Scriptures used in the Services of the Church, 15; Suppresses "The Prophesyings," 16

THE PURITANS—PRELATIC AND PRESBYTERIAN.—Their Rise and Contentions, 17 18

THE STUARTS endeavour to subject the Church, Parliament, and Nation to their Authority, James I.'s reception of the Millenary Petition and arbitrary conduct at the Hampton Court Conference, 19; Divides the Church still more, He makes the union of Church and State Erastian, Charles I. adopts his father's policy, 20; James had at first professed to support Calvinism, but afterwards abandoned it because less favourable to arbitrary power, 20; The Rise of Ritualism and Sacerdotalism, 21; Congregationalism, its principles favoured by Dr. Lightfoot ... 24

THE RESTORATION.—King Charles II. declaration 25

A ROYAL COMMISSION appointed, Its composition and the determined opposition of the Laudians to every concession, Make it abortive, The Rubric on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper reaffirmed, This is the authorised teaching of the Church on the subject, Articles on Church Authority, 27; Baxter's account of the Conference, 28; Conciliation abandoned, 29; The Rev. Charles Gore's published opinions on Church Authority and on the interpretation of Scripture make it evident that the Laudians could not be reconciled to the Puritans, 30; Rev. Mr. Spörlein's interview with Dr. Newman (afterwards cardinal) and a number of students 31

1662.—Act of Uniformity Passed and its Consequences.—The Injustice done to Nonconformists and their heroic loyalty to Conscience, 32; John Locke, Esq., on their Exodus, Rev. J. B. Marsden (a clergyman) describes the evils it inflicted on the Church, 22; Retrospective glance at the Persecution of the Puritans, 33; Sir Richard Knightley's connection with the printing of the "Martin Marprelate" Tracts. 35

The 17th of August, 1662, our Natal Day as a Congregational Church. Prior to this time the people were members of the Established Church, now they had to unite in worship and form meetings or congregations, and therefore availed themselves of the King's Declaration of *Indulgence* that permitted them to assemble for worship in private houses. Conventicle Act, Five Mile Act, 38; Mr. Lewis never preached after leaving St. Giles', for his health failed and he died soon after, 36; The Congregationalists had two preaching houses, one in which Thomas Marley, and the other in which Mr. Hook, of Creaton, ministered. Thus in a little more than a year there was an Independent Meeting with regular services, 40; these invited the Rev. Samuel Blower to be their Pastor, 41; His character and work, 43; Removed to Abingdon, in Berks, and died there in 1701. Baptist Church, College Street, formed 1696 43

Church Covenant 44

Rev. Thomas Shepard, M.A., responds to the call of the Church, 1694, His stay conditioned on the Christian consistency of the Church and growth in the divine life, 45; Selections from his hymns, 46; Is disappointed and removes, in 1700, to Bocking-cum-Braintree, where he took charge of a few people, and ministered to them for forty years, Here his life work properly speaking began and ended, He was very prosperous, Mr. Mason and he wrote the "Penitential Cries," Reign of James II., A professed Roman Catholic, and his political policy like that of Charles II., 48; Driven from the throne in 1688, William and Mary succeed him by the will of the nation, Bill of Rights, 49 50

Note.—Thus the persecution of Nonconformists for conscience' sake ends. They had suffered great wrongs in person and property, but learned (1) that Christian life is not dependent on the ministry; (2) that the Church has a true ministry of her own in the natural and spiritual gifts of her members, if carefully cultured; (3) that congregations can subsist and prosper by the development of their own resources; and (4) that Christian liberty is best enjoyed and exercised independently of the State and of ecclesiastical power.

Site of the Chapel, 49; Its boundaries, St. Mary's Church, 50; Deed of Conveyance, 50; Chapel built, 51; Internal arrangements, adapted to our worship, 52; Liberty of Conscience, its meaning, ... 54

Rev. John Hunt, 55; A faithful watchman, his doctrine, 56; Troubled with controversies, A village preacher, 57; Elders discontinued, 57: His poetry, 58; Political changes, 59; The Schism Act, God saves His people from their enemies... 60

Rev. Thomas Tingey's Ministry, Educated at Oxford, 61; Ordination, 61; A long and faithful ministry, Dr. Ridgley's account of it 62

Village Preaching, 63; Death and funeral 65

Dr. Philip Doddridge, His ancestors, English and Bohemian, 66; His home education, 67; Other tutors, specially Dr. N. Wood, 69; Loses both parents, Received in the church, 69; Resides for a time with Mrs. Nettleton, his sister, 70; Duchess of Bedford offers to send him to one of the Universities, God calls him to the ministry and he waits till the way is opened, 71; Dr. Clarke gives him a home and sends him to Kibworth, 72; College life, Invited to succeed Mr. Jennings at Kibworth, 73; Country life, 74; The social and literary habits of Nonconformists, 76; He is much sought after, 77; Co-pastor with Rev. Mr. Soames, Adjudged by his brethren to be the successor of Mr. Jennings to the Academy 77

Appointed to the Academy at Harborough, 78; Castle Hill, Northampton, discover their minister in him and never rest till he accepts their call, 79—82; Situation of the Academy, 83; His ordination, 84, and Marriage, 85; Political state of the country at this time, 88; His faithfulness, ... 91

Dr. Doddridge as a Preacher, 91; The true sources of his power and success, 93; The minister of the young, 94; A Catechist, 95; Founds a Charity School, 97; Manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, 98 100

His Academic Work, 101; Methods, 102; His students, lay and clerical, 105; Correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Wills, Summoned to appear in the Consistorial Court, 106; The case carried into the Civil Courts and decided in his favour 108

Dr. Doddridge as Pastor and Superintendent.—Elders chosen, 109; The Epistle of the Elders and Deacons to the Church, 110; Judgment of the Church on Bankruptcy, 112; Dr. Doddridge's Letter of Instructions to the Elders, 112—114; University of Aberdeen confers the degree of D.D., Death of Betsy, 115; The Removal of the Rev. Dr. Job Orton to Shrewsbury, 116; Other Elders appointed, A sad retrospect, 118; The Moravians attract away members of the Church 118

The Invasion of the Pretender.—Lands in the Highlands, Advances on Perth, Edinburgh, and Derby, Battle of Preston Pans and death of Colonel Gardiner, 121; Northampton led by Lord Halifax, supported by Dr. Doddridge, raises one thousand Volunteers to arrest his approach, 122; Retreats from Derby and escapes from Scotland 124

County Infirmary Founded.—Dr. Stonehouse devises the plan and Dr. Doddridge supports him, Lord Halifax becomes an active supporter, 126; Dr. Stonehouse led to Christ by Dr. Doddridge, and afterwards becomes a clergyman, 126; An Election Address, Rev. John Wesley and Dr. Doddridge on the Formation of a Library for Students, 127; Comprehension, 128; Correspondence, 130; Dr. S. Clarke of St. Albans, 133; His enemies trouble him, 134; Castle Hill his home and resting-place, 135; Doddridge the Poet, 135; His long and lingering Illness, 137; Proceeds to Lisbon, 139; Last Illness and Death, 140; His works, 141; His family, 143; Doddridge Church a memorable illustration of an Apostolic Church 143

THE SUCCESSORS OF DODDRIDGE.

NEED OF A SUCCESSOR, Doddridge's provision for one ... 146

ROBERT GILBERT.—Little known of him, Publishes three sermons at the request of the congregation, The moral state of the people, 148; Sermons adapted to this state of things, 149; Earthquake at Lisbon, 150; Cattle plague, 151; Plague of the heart, 152; Assisted by Mr. Warburton, 153; His hymns, Disaffection, 154; His death 154

WILLIAM HEXTAL.—Training, Pastor at Creaton, Ordination, Call to Sudbury, Settlement, Ministry, 156; Party politics, Resignation, Call to Castle Hill, Supported by Job Orton, Rumours, Mr. Palmer's letter on Mr. Hextal's orthodoxy, Controversial pamphlets, 157; Contentions on doctrines and forms, Mr. Hextal's confession of faith, 158; His illness, Mr. Winter invited to be co-pastor, Objections, Mr. Hextal's attitude, Action of the church, Mr. Thoroughgood invited to be co-pastor, 159; Attempts to compromise fail, 160; Trial, Removal, King's Street Church formed, 161; Fellowship between Castle Hill and College Street, Anonymous letter, 162; Last Sermon, Death 164

JOHN HORSEY.—Birth, Training, Call, Ordination, Marriage, 165; Alteration in Church procedure, Academy placed under his care, Free thought, Count Tolstoi quoted, 166; Academy removed to Wymondley, Horsey's writings, The age of religious societies, 167; Growing infirmities, Rev. J. Hoppus invited, Retires, Various supplies, New Sunday School, Grant of Site by the Corporation, 168; How funds were raised, 169; Mr. Horsey's letter of resignation, Resolution of the Church thereon that his pastorate be continued, 170; Sunday School children attend public services, Request to Wymondley for supplies, 171; Mr. Horsey's resignation accepted, 173: Long pastorates, Review of his works, Unitarianism in the Church, 174; Fails to check it, His confession at death implies that he was not a Unitarian, 175; Rev. L. B. Edwards preached his funeral sermon on 1 Cor. xv. 55-57, Memorial tablet at Castle Hill 176

CHARLES J. HYATT.—Birth, Training, Tutor's opinion of him given by letter, Mr. Giles chosen, 178; Mr. Hyatt sent, Ordination, 179; Secession, Unitarian Church formed, 180; Dr. Joseph Priestley's criticism on the Academy, The Arian controversy, Unitarian leaven, 182; Mr. Hyatt's evangelical ministry, 182. FORMATION OF COMMERCIAL STREET CHURCH.—Sunday School founded at St. James', 183; Mr. Hyatt resigns, Last labours and death 184

JOHN BENNETT.—Difference between him and Mr. Hyatt, Birth, Training, Home Missionary, Pastorate at Braunston, Called to Castle Hill, Letter of acceptance, Ministry, Marriage, 187; A political Dissenter and what made him so. 1851—Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union held at Northampton on the Centenary of the death of Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Stoughton's address, 188; Resolution of the assembly, The salutary effect of the meeting on the churches, Chapel improved, 189; Mr. Bennett's growing infirmities, Mr. Charles Horne assistant pastor, Mr. Bennett's letter of resignation, 190; Removal from Northampton, Last illness and death 191

THOMAS ARNOLD.—Moravians, 192; Birth and training, Removal to Manchester, Becomes acquainted with Mrs. Arnold, 193; Enters Doncaster Deaf-mute Institute, Joins Congregational Church, Enters Rotherham College, Pastorate at Burton-on-Trent, Smethwick, Belmain, Sydney, Oral Teaching renewed, Ordered home, via Palestine, Supplies at Castle Hill, Dr. R. W. Dale recommends him, 194; Invitation to Castle Hill, Letter of acceptance, 195; Name of Castle Hill changed to Doddridge Chapel, 196; Mr. P. P. Perry takes charge of St. James' End Mission work begun on Kingsthorpe Road, Interesting Converts, County Association organized, 197; Procedure of Provident Society enlarged, Deaf-mute Education, John Oates invited to be Co-Pastor, 198; Resignation tendered and deferred, Accepted with ovation, A touching testimony, 199; Devotes himself to Deaf-mute Education, Honoured with diploma of College, Writes a Manual, succeeded in the Oral School by H. N. Dixon, Esq., M.A., F.L.S., Writes the second volume: Extract, 200; Review of the Work. 201

JOHN OATES.—Birth, Training, Accepted as a Student, 202, 203; New College, Invitation to Castle Hill, Mr. Arnold's notice of Resignation, 203; Mr. Oates invited to be sole Pastor, 204; Ordination, Resignation, Removed to Trinity Church, Reading, 205; Afterwards to Christ Church, Southsea, Candidates invited, Hope from another quarter, A Minister heard of at Corwen ... 205

JOSEPH J. COOPER.—206; Birth, Training, Conversion and Confession, joins the Primitive Methodists, Becomes an Evangelist, 207; Inward call followed by the outward, Removes to London, First inspiration, Begins his ministry at Eynesbury; Removes to Maidstone, 208; Chafes at his bonds, Joins the Congregationalists, Becomes a Missionary, 209; Preparation at Weston-Super-Mare, Failure of Health, Invitation to Corwen, Letter of Invitation to Doddridge Church, 210; Recognition Statistics of the Church and Schools, 212; Special Mission by W. A. Meaton, Young Men's Mission, Castle Street Mission Hall, 213; Vestibule built, Rev. T. Neale invited to branch Chapel at St. James' Free Church Extension Scheme on Kingsthorpe Road, 213; Doddridge Street, St. Mary's Churchyard laid out, Bible Women, Miss Burton, Mrs. Odell, Miss Sinkins, in succession, Mrs. George Jeffery, Mr. John Perry, sen., Joshua Stanford, a man of prayer, Dr. Charles Stanford as a boy, Characteristics of deacons, 215; Past deacons, 216; Memorial tablet; Present deacons; Conclusion, The Healing Waters. 219

HISTORY OF
THE CHURCH OF DODDRIDGE.

Where the Nin and the Nene unite their waters at Northampton, a bluff was formed on the left bank. This was well chosen on account of its commanding position, as a site for a strong Norman castle to over-awe the turbulent Saxons, and guard the chief approaches to the town. The valleys of both streams were visible from its walls and towers, as well as the country on the east, so that an enemy could not approach without detection by the watchmen.

Forty years ago a great part of the walls, the south eastern bastion and a postern to the river remained to tell of its departed strength and the triumph of our liberty over despotic kings and Norman barons. Of the castle itself, hardly anything remained but the basements of some columns of a crypt, probably once a prison, discovered by the workmen of the late Mr. Samuel Walker, *grand-père*, in one of his many excavations. Elsewhere its surface was formed of heights and hollows covered with the bright green carpet, which nature so fairly weaves. Ah, it was a pleasant place in which to wander away from the noise and dust of the streets! There the breeze was always refreshing, and the views, though lacking in the bolder features, were replete with the graces of an English landscape. Away along the Nene valley the river winding through meadows of exquisite emerald, with the busy mills, silvery willows, a majestic avenue of elms, through which the taper spire of Kingsthorpe church was just visible, with hills beyond, made the view enchanting, especially when the westering sun flooded it with his golden light, and the cloud shadows and sunbursts —the horses of the sun—chased one another across the valley.

On the other hand the valley of the Nin though wider spread, was little less attractive. There Nene and Nin united their courses, and the gentler yielded its name to the stronger. Now railway stations, mills, embankments, breweries—with the invading town—obstruct, hide and disfigure its graceful flow—

> "But when its fair course is not hindered
> He makes sweet music with the enamell'd stones,
> Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
> He overtaketh in his pilgrimage,
> And so by many a winding nook he strays
> With willing sport to the wild ocean."

But on the other side of the valley the scene is less changed, and the hills there are higher and better clothed with fine woods. The Danes' camp, Delaprè, with part of the old abbey, where the remains of the heroic queen, devoted wife and companion of Edward, rested for a night, on the mournful procession to Westminster, and her cross stands the monument art has fitly reared to her deathless memory. We do not blame the thundering trains, the shrill whistles and blinding smoke that are necessary to trade and travel, but they are not very conducive to repose or meditation.

Once these Castle grounds were free to our ministers to wander where they would. Shepard and Doddridge were poets as well as divines, and no doubt nature gave them many a gentle hint which helped them "to build the lofty rhyme," or grace the next Sunday's discourse, or lifted their hearts nearer to God. Rivers are replete with messages to the poet, dreamer, and mystic. They are many voiced for the heart as well as the head. Their banks are a museum of natural history, and their waters surpassing rich in manifold life of fish, insect, and plant.

What Northampton boy, or man either, has not loved to bathe, fish, gather flowers, or watch the myriad flies waving, wheeling, or curling over Nene or Nin. Little do the present generation know how much they have lost by the disfigurements of the last thirty years. Perhaps we have lingered too long over these scenes, but who can help it who has passed his youth or prime in playing or wandering there, or who as a minister has meditated there, or who finds it closely associated with the happiest or saddest events of his life! Castle Hill is not the name of a chapel only, or of a graveyard only, but of a spot from which one of the sweetest of landscapes was visible, and from which a Christian church has shed the light of the gospel round the solid globe!

JOHN WYCLIFFE.

To get a clear conception of the religious movements that ultimately led to the establishment of Castle Hill Independent Church we must glance across at least three centuries, and fix our attention on the great events taking place in Leicestershire. The walk from Welford station by South Kilworth to Lutterworth is pleasant, for the scenes are replete with all the riches of an English rural landscape. But when the hill-top—from which is obtained the first view of the town—is gained, we are arrested by the commanding site and graceful architecture of the most famous church in all England, the church of John Wycliffe. There he preached, close by he translated much of the Holy

Scriptures, and read them on Sundays to congregations of eager, attentive hearers. Great at the close was their joy and thankfulness, for like "the angel of the covenant opening the seals of the book which he took from the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne," he had opened the book and read the revelation of God, "and the people heard in their own tongue the wonderful works of God." Now they are no longer sealed nor ever can be. No seals that man has ever affixed will close the book that is printed in 250 languages and dialects.

It is the dawn of the new Pentecostal day, and "Wycliffe is its morning star."

> "Not least art thou, thou little Bethlehem
> In Judah, for in thee the Lord was born;
> Nor thou in Britain little Lutterworth
> Least, for in thee the word was born again."
> —*Tennyson.*

One tradition tells that Wycliffe was born at Richmond, Yorks, but another—and more likely to be true—at Wycliffe, from which his name was taken; but little is known of him till he made himself famous at Oxford—where he was educated—by his learning and divinity lectures. There he gained powerful friends and made as powerful enemies, for he assailed the clergy on account of their indolence and profligacy, and the friars for their selfish appropriation of the monies devoted to the poor. These lectures were delivered in Latin and published in English. "The last Age of the Church" was written in 1356. The usurpations of the Court of Rome and of their own clergy had much weaned the people from superstition, and there was a growing desire to shake off the bondage of the Church. In 1365 Wycliffe was appointed warden of Canterbury Hall by Archbishop Islip. But on account of some irregularity in this appointment he was deprived of it at the death of the Archbishop. But Edward III., who had confirmed his deprivation, soon afterwards nominated him one of his chaplains. He still lectured on divinity at Oxford, gained an immense influence, and attracted scholars from the continent in order to profit by his teaching. By some he is called the last of the schoolmen. "He was a man of most simple life, austere in appearance, with bare feet and russet mantle" (Leland). "As a soldier of Christ he saw in his great Master and His apostles the pattern whom he was bound to imitate. By the contagion of his example he gathered about him other men who thought as he did; and gradually under his captaincy these 'poor priests,' as they were called, vowed to poverty because Christ was poor, and to accept no benefice lest they should misspend the property of the poor; and because as the apostles they were bound to go

where their Master called them, spread out over the country as an army of missionaries to preach the faith which they found in the Bible—to preach, not of relics and of indulgences, but of repentance and of the grace of God." Wycliffe by his discourses, sermons, and writings, made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. They were called Lollards, and were distinguished by their austerity of life and manners. The clergy were most incensed at his preaching, for he accused them of appropriating the monies left for the support of the poor to their own selfish uses. Their credit and authority were in great danger, for the people heard that they ought to be stripped of this ill-gotten wealth. Had they possessed the power they would not have spared him, but John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, defended and encouraged him. The movement of Parliament against the Pope was also very favourable to a spiritual union against the Church at home.

In 1377 Wycliffe was summoned to answer for himself. He appeared in court supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the authorities feared to strike him under the shield of so powerful a protector. Hence we learn that the contentions with the Church were as much political as religious on account of its accumulated wealth and usurpation of secular power. Sir John Oldcastle was another of his supporters, and his house also was open to the "poor priests." This alliance of Wycliffe with the noblemen, who were determined on liberating the land from ecclesiastic oppression, secured him their protection, so that when his followers began to apply his principles touching the property of the clergy to all kinds of property, as he never had intended, he retired to Lutterworth to revise his translation and spend the evening of his days in tranquility. He translated the whole Bible. Others, as the venerable Bede, had translated parts, but they were either in provincial dialects, or so obsolete as to be possessed and understood by the few only. The people knew not the Scriptures, though from Moses to Revelation they had been spoken to them or written for them. No restrictions were imposed on their possession or free study by their author. But, astonishing to learn, in the very churches that had grown up out of the free reading and preaching of these Scriptures they became more and more the Book of the Clergy who doled them out to the people as to little children, lest they might misinterpret or misapply them. This is one of the many instances in which men thought themselves wiser than God.

Wycliffe translated from the Vulgate version as he found it, for he was not Greek scholar enough to avail himself of the Septuagint. But he was familiar with the vernacular, not only

as provincially used, but at Wycliffe, his native place, Oxford, and elsewhere. As printing had not yet been discovered, copies were multiplied by transcription, and many copyists were required for the work. Now we print them by the million.

Of the literary excellency of this translation, the writer of the Introduction to Bagster's Hexapla says, "It is far more vernacular than the language of Chaucer. It reflects more correctly the common speech of our fathers." "Chaucer's poetry may throw it into the shade; but it will still be felt that among the literary men of the fourteenth century, a much nobler form belongs to the English translation of the Bible than to the great poet Chaucer, or even to his brilliant contemporary Petrarch," who wrote in the vernacular for the Italians. Wycliffe translated not as a scholar only, but as a believer, who loved the Word, understood it, felt it in all its glorious fulness of life-giving light and divinity. Then he spoke or wrote it in the best words or forms of speech used by the people of the time, in order to lead them to know it, and live by faith.

Thus Wycliffe's translation did as much for the language as for reform, and if printing had been known it would have done much more. Yet it found its way by the 'poor priests,' who read and discoursed upon it to the people. Many who were able to buy a copy purchased one, and read it to all comers. This much troubled the bigoted clergy. "A Canon of Leicester" complained bitterly, "that Scripture became a vulgar thing, and more open to lay folk and women that knew how to read, than it is wont to be to clerks—the clergy—themselves." Lollardism increased in every part of England, but chiefly in the cities and towns; it was beginning to threaten the existing order in church and state, and was therefore fiercely persecuted, and almost repressed. Still it lingered on in secret places, for it was the fruit of the imperishable word of God, and like streams that disappear under ground for a time, it sprang forth afresh at other places.

So Wycliffe's works were silently removed to a distant land that was better prepared to understand them.

A good summary of Wycliffe's opinions may be seen in the letterpress attached to his portrait in the VI. volume of Mr. Charles Knight's Gallery of Portraits—"In the first place, he rejected every sort of pretension, tenet, or authority which did not rest on the foundation of Scripture; here he professed to fix the single basis of his whole system. Accordingly he denounced, with various degrees of severity, many of the popular observances of his church. He rejected auricular con-

fession, and declared pardons and indulgences to be no better than anti-christian devices for augmenting the power and wealth of the clergy at the expense of the morality of the people. He paid no respect to excommunications and interdicts; he pronounced confirmation to be an unnecessary ceremony, invented for the aggrandizement of the episcopal dignity; he reprobated the celibacy of the clergy, and the imposition of monastic vows. In his contempt for the outward ceremonies of the church, even to the use of sacred music, *he anticipated by more than two centuries the principles of the Puritans.* In like manner he maintained that bishops and priests, being *one and the same order*, according to their original institution, were improperly distinguished; and that the property claimed by the clergy, being in its origin eleemosynary, was merely enjoyed by them in trust for the benefit of the people, and was disposable at the discretion of the secular authority." Wycliffe was well acquainted with the precise meaning of Scripture, and was therefore well able to discover in what respects the Church had departed from them in her doctrines and practices.

The title of Doctor Evangelicus was bestowed upon him because "he made the sacred Scriptures the *ultimate standard* of all law, and are afterwards declared *to be* the great problems of church evolution to reform everything according to the principles therein contained."—N. IX. 196.

WYCLIFFE'S PART IN THE BOHEMIAN REFORMATION.

Methodeus and Cyrellus were the first Christian missionaries to the Bohemians. They belonged to the Greek Church, and succeeded, by their devoted labours in the ninth century, in planting Christian churches. Afterwards a translation of the Scriptures was made into the vernacular whose inaccuracies were laughed at by the learned, but they were only like the blemishes in a transparency. Public prayers were also offered in the language of the people. In the reign of Otho I., when Bohemia was added to the empire, Pope Nicholas, when applied to by their first King, Wratislav, for permission to use the Church Service in their own language, utterly refused, *because error might be engendered from ignorance of the meaning, and that therefore they must submit to hearing the prayers in Latin, of which they were wholly ignorant.* Nevertheless, the Bohemians prayed and read the Scriptures in the vernacular, and when the persecuted Waldensians fled into Moravia they found a people prepared to receive their doctrines. God makes the weak confound the mighty. Thus also was the

ground prepared in Bohemia and Moravia to receive and profit by the writings of Wycliffe. An interpreter was wanted, and God provided him in John Huss, educated at the University of Prague under Stanislaus, of Znaim, who belonged to the more liberal party. The German party in the University, who were supporters of strict Church tendencies, were the bitter opponents of Huss and his friends. But Huss, who had given himself to the study of the works of Wycliffe, preached and debated his doctrines at the University and elsewhere. Jerome, of Prague, had visited Oxford about 1400, and, it is said, studied there for a time, and on his return to Bohemia carried some of Wycliffe's minor works with him, and endeavoured to circulate them throughout Bohemia among all ranks and conditions of the people. We presume they had been translated into the vernacular. "At the University and elsewhere he stood up with great enthusiasm for the doctrines of Wycliffe." He is reported to have said, "Until now we have had nothing but the shell of knowledge, Wycliffe first brought out the kernel." The contention on transubstantiation sprung up anew between the Germans and Bohemians, from the close connection of Prague with Oxford. By interpolations and perversions the Germans falsified the meaning of what Wycliffe had written; but the Bohemians defended him, and exposed the duplicity of the Germans. This led to an open rupture on this doctrine. But one passage from the work on "God's Omnipresence" is explicit on the subject—"What then," he exclaims, "could induce the Lord Jesus Christ so to take away from His worshippers the judgment of reason when not a particle of good was to accrue from so doing? For it cannot be proved by reason or by Scripture that such an illusion is necessary for men as an *accidens sine subjecto*—a quality without a substance—when bread and wine would in a more suitable way represent the body of Christ" (N. IX. 219). In order to escape from this illusion the Germans had recourse to consubstantiation, or the presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ *with* the bread and wine in some inconceivable manner. But Wycliffe "stoutly contended against every mode of a bodily presence of Christ, every mode of conceiving a strict and proper connection of body and blood with the bread and wine."

The Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia was therefore chiefly extended by teaching and preaching the doctrines of Wycliffe. He was an Apostle to Bohemia, by his writings and godly life. The venerable Huss was wont, in his public discourses to pray that "on his departure from this life he might be received into those regions whither the soul of Wycliffe had

gone, since he doubted not that he was a good and holy man, and worthy of a heavenly habitation." The Council of Constance indirectly witnessed to this close connection with Wycliffe when it inserted, in his sentence to be burned, this capital charge that "he was a follower of Wycliffe, and had disseminated Wycliffe's doctrines."

Some time afterwards Jerome, of Prague, was burned under the same sentence. The Pope had been solicited by the clergy to command the exhuming of Wycliffe's remains, but he refused. The Fathers at Constance were not so reverent, for they published an edict "That the bones and body of Wycliffe should be taken from the ground, and thrown far away from the burial of any church." After a long interval of hesitancy this edict was obeyed, and thirty years after his death his grave was violated, and his ashes contemptuously cast into a neighbouring brook. On this indignity, Fuller makes the following memorable reflection:—"The brook did convey his ashes to Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblems of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all over the world" But such a violation of the tomb of our first great hero of reform could not be repeated in our day. This is the second golden link of the bond that unites Lutterworth to Northampton.

POLITICAL.

The wrongs suffered by the people from their teachers and rulers had so moved the sympathetic heart of Wycliffe that he began to utter opinions on the possession of property, which led far towards communism. Of the estates of the church he taught that "charters of perpetual inheritance were impossible; 'that God could not give men civil possession for ever;' 'that property was founded in grace and derived from God,' and seeing that forfeiture was the punishment of treason, and all sin was treason against God, the sinner must consequently forfeit his right to what he held of God." These propositions were abstractly true, but Wycliffe limited them to the clergy and church property. Others, however, more logically extended them to all property, and their rapid spread and practical adoption led to the invasion of London in 1381 by Wat Tyler, followed by 100,000 men, "who were to level all ranks, put down the church, and establish universal liberty." The insurrection was attended with bloodshed, destruction of property, and ferocity. The Archbishop of Canterbury and many other gentlemen were murdered, and a great part of

London sacked and burnt. Wycliffe could not limit his general principles on the divine law of property to the friars with whom he was contending. As a churchman he saw its forfeiture by a breach of trust; but by others personally interested it was applied to the feudal laws imposed by William the Norman, with wholesale spoliation of the conquered Saxons, the maintenance of serfdom to which a bold proprietary peasantry was reduced, and the thraldom under which the tillers of the glebe were ground. It required little logic to make Wycliffe's thesis as true of the one as of the other. When Moses divided the land of Canaan among the twelve tribes, he acted on the law of a divine Proprietorship of the land. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Wycliffe was not responsible for all this, but no doubt inferences from his unguarded teaching on the property of the clergy had been drawn and applied as he never intended. Hence measures of repression were devised, and an Act passed by the House of Lords was sent down by the King to the Commons, but owing to a controversy with the Pope, and unwilling to subject the people to more stringent spiritual control, they rejected it for the time being. Wycliffe had petitioned against it, but perceiving that his power was declining, and the great nobles deserting him, he submitted to the synod in London, before whom he had been cited, satisfied his judges, but not by abjuring his doctrines as Dr. R. Vaughan has proved, and being forbidden to preach in London, he retired to Lutterworth. Though spared for twenty years the Lollards did not escape.

In 1401, an Act, called *De Heretico comburendo*, concerning heretic burning was passed, "in which they were charged with usurping the office of preaching and teaching divers new doctrines and wicked erroneous opinions contrary to the faith and determination of Holy Church; that they made unlawful conventicles, taught schools, wrote books, wickedly instructed and excited the people to sedition, insurrection, and other enormities too horrible to be heard." And therefore the aid of the King's Majesty is prayed for in their suppression. This Act was speedily executed. The bishops had received arbitrary power to arrest and imprison on suspicion without check or restraint of law, at their will and pleasure, and all who refused to abjure their heresy were sentenced to be burned at the stake—a dreadful punishment, on the wickedness of which the world has long been agreed, and of which it is said that this was purely secular in its execution. However, it was sanctioned by the bishops who were the judges, and in their hands it did not long remain unemployed. William Sautré, a London clergyman,

atoned for his Lollard opinions by the penalty of fire. "Still the laws were not fully enforced against heresy, and when in 1412 it was heard that they intended to enforce them, notices were found fixed on the doors of the London churches threatening that if any such measure were attempted, a hundred thousand men would be in arms against it. These were traced to Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. The king annihilated the incipient treason, Oldcastle was arrested, thrown into prison, from which he escaped into Scotland where he tried to excite an invasion; failed and fled into Wales where he was taken, tried, and executed." He was undoubtedly a fanatic, but led on by principles for whose adoption the country was not prepared. Dean Milman, who has carefully examined the records, concludes emphatically on his sincerity.

"Thus perished Lollardry! it was proclaimed, which originated in heresy, for whose suppression all Government officials were to use their best power and diligence. Ample revenge was therefore meted out by the Church and the State for what they had suffered." Church property was still safe till Henry VIII. appropriated it or bestowed it on his rapacious nobles; but their evil day came in the wars of the Commonwealth.

It has been erroneously asserted that Wycliffe's labour perished by these measures. They were only concealed. The Bible he had translated, the books he had written, and the hearts he had turned did not perish. The Bible was studied by its possessors, the books read, and their truths revived, and the faithful ones transmitted them to their children. A century afterwards, in 1525, the *Association of Christian Brothers* appeared in London composed of poor men, chiefly tradesmen and artisans, with very few of the clergy; well organised, provided with moderate funds regularly audited, and its paid agents went up and down the country carrying testaments and tracts with them, and enrolled in the order all persons who dared to risk their lives in such a cause. All the prosecutions that filled the records of the bishops' courts "who had plied their busy tasks with stake and prison, and victim after victim, had been executed with more than necessary cruelty." But all in vain; punishment only multiplied offenders, and "the reek of the martyr," as Patrick Hamilton said, who was burned at St. Andrews, "infected all that it did blow upon."

Glancing over the centuries from Wycliffe till the publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus, two great popular rights are struggling for their places in religious and political progress. The first was the right of the people to hear and read and possess the Holy Scriptures in their language, as they had ability

and means; and the second that all property given in trust for the maintenance of the poor and needy, with all lands of which the people had been deprived by fraud or robbery should be restored, and, humbling to think, the bishops, monks, and nobles, who had them in their possession, were the fiercest in the persecution of the men who dared to convict them by bringing home their delinquencies. Wycliffe was the leader in both, by translating the Scriptures and by his exposure of the utter selfishness of the friars. He was the champion of popular rights, and the Lollards maintained them and suffered.

It has also been often asserted that the suppression of the religious houses led to an increase of poverty, but as early as Henry IV. licenses to beg were granted, and afterwards followed by a petition to the king to secularize ecclesiastical property. "Thus early in their history," says Froude, "had the regular clergy forgotten the nature of their mission, and the object for which the administration of the nation's charities had been committed to them. Thus early, while their houses were the nurseries of dishonest mendicancy, (Burnet's coll. pp. 77-8) they had surrendered to lay compassion those who ought to have been their special care. Henry VIII. suppressed the monasteries, and had their revenue been appropriated to the relief of the poor, for which it had been principally provided, there would have been enough and to spare for ages to come. Wycliffe was therefore right when he preached restitution by the friars and clergy of the funds that belonged to the poor. It ought not to be forgotten that the relentless severity with which the bishops persecuted the Lollards was principally owing to being called to account for their selfish abuse of charitable bequests. We hear of the revenues of the smaller monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. being used for public works which were set on foot to provide employment for vagrants. What became of these revenues in later times we cannot say, but we know that most of the lands of the greater monasteries were by him bestowed on greedy courtiers and insatiable nobles.

LOLLARDS.

Lollard tendencies cropped up in different parts, "London was fiercely Lollard. Its mayor, John, of Northampton, shewed the influence of the new morality in the puritan spirit with which he dealt with the morals of the city. Compelled to act as he said, by the remissness of the clergy, who connived for money at every kind of debauchery, he arrested the loose women, cut off their hair, and carted them through the

streets." We fear this did little good for their restoration. "Northampton, too, was affected. The mayor himself was tainted with heresy. The country, too, continued to be agitated with war and treason; and when Henry V. became king in 1412 the Church was still uneasy, and the Lollards as dangerous as ever. But the fire of heresy continued to smoulder, exploding occasionally in insurrection, occasionally blazing up in a nobler form, when some poor seeker for the truth, groping for a vision of God in the darkness of the years which followed, found his way into that high presence through the martyr's fire." (Froude, vol. I., p. 503).

Only those who live with the rural population that are religiously inclined, know with what tenacity they cling to the old beliefs which their persecuted fathers had publicly confessed. The family pride, that makes much of gentle descent or ancestral honours, is purified and strengthened when the traditions of religious life and devotion to higher, nobler ends are recited and dwelt upon with veneration and tenderness. They do not need to be transcribed on parchment lest they should be forgotten. The memory, on which the heart and soul write their tables, retains and transmits them from age to age. Lollardism did not, could not die, and Northampton reaped the fruit.

"Almost a hundred and fifty years before Luther," says Hallam, "nearly the same doctrines as he taught had been maintained by Wycliffe, whose disciples, usually called Lollards, lasted as a numerous, though obscure and proscribed sect till, aided by the confluence of foreign streams, they swelled into the Protestant Church of England. (Const. His., vol. I., p. 57).

ENGLISH REFORMATION.

1519. The publication by Erasmus of the Greek text of the New Testament heralded the Reformation. This was not a translation like the Vulgate, but the very word written by the Evangelists and Apostles. Whoever can read and understand it drinks at the fountain of the water of life. The clergy, fearing the effects, prohibited its sale and its perusal. But Dr. Bilney, a pious and accomplished student of Cambridge, was tempted to purchase a copy, for he could find no relief in confessions, penances, and absolutions. The burden of his sins seemed rather to increase than lessen by following the directions of his confessor. He resolved at last to procure a copy, and rushing to the bookseller's shop, bought a copy. Hastening to his room he shut himself up, opened it, and his eyes first

perceived these words: "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." "What," he exclaimed, "St. Paul the chief of sinners, and yet he is sure of being saved!" He read it again and again. "O, assertion of St. Paul, how sweet art thou to my soul!" The words haunted him till their full light was revealed by the Holy Spirit. He believed and knew he was saved. Tyndal, Fryth, and Barnes were saved in the same manner. But Latimer, an able scholar and eminent orator, resisted and opposed. Bilney caught him with guile. One day he asked Latimer to hear his confession. He complied, and kneeling at his feet Bilney told the tale of his own conversion. It melted and opened the heart of Latimer, and he also believed the Gospel. Others followed till there was a band, a church, in whose hearts the fire of divine love prompted the preaching of the truth that had set them free.

This was the renewal of the Reformation of Wycliffe, and typical of all real reformations, for "the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Henry VIII. had attempted something called a reformation, but it followed on the failure of the papal divorce from Queen Catherine. The true Reformation spread. "In the county of Lincoln, on the shores of the North Sea, along the fertile banks of the Humber, Trent, and Witham, and on the slopes of the smiling hills, dwelt many peaceful Christians—labourers, artificers, and shepherds, who spent their days in toil, in keeping their flocks, in doing good, and in reading the Bible. The more the Gospel light increased in England the greater was the increase in the number of these children of peace. These 'just men,' as they were called, were devoid of human knowledge, but they thirsted for the knowledge of God." Occasionally they went to church, but sat in silence. They married only among themselves. They assembled in each others houses on Sundays, and sometimes passed a whole night in reading a portion of scripture. As copies of scripture were few, memory was enlisted to commit an Epistle, or parts of the Gospel, and then recite them to others for their instruction. Thus the word of God grew and multiplied till it leavened the country. They established an itinerant library, and John Scrivener carried the Word from one to another.

But the Church of Rome awoke to its perils, and the persecutors started in pursuit. Secret meetings were held by the reformers, and the corruptions of the Church and vices of the clergy were discussed and exposed. John Langland was then Bishop of Lincoln. He was the King's confessor, and petitioned

Henry for a severe persecution, reciting some of the sarcasms uttered by the Protestants. Wolsey came to his help and added fresh fuel to his wrath. Henry hesitated no longer. "On the 20th of October, 1521, nine days after the bull on him as the Defender of the Faith had been signed at Rome, the King, who was at Windsor, summoned his secretary and dictated an order commanding all his subjects to assist the Bishop of Lincoln against the heretics. 'You will obey it at the peril of your lives.'" Thus the Act *De Heretico comburendo*, passed in 1401 to burn the Lollards, was revived by Henry VIII. Scrivener was the first to be burned to ashes, and his children were compelled to set fire to the pile.

TYNDAL'S TRANSLATION.

"Of the translation itself, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius —if such a word may be permitted—which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached in the attempted improvement of modern scholars—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tyndal. Lying while engaged in that great office under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment to fall, he worked under circumstances alone perhaps truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him—his spirit, as it were, divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air." This is as just as it is fine of the genius and spirit of Tyndal, but he was not the first that brought forth the pure gold for English possession. Wycliffe preceded him some centuries, and was the first to sink the shaft, wash the ore, and mint it into the current coin of the kingdom of grace. Tyndal knew the Greek of the New Testament—the Septuagint, and what had been already done by Hebrew scholars, but Wycliffe had only the Latin Vulgate. Both of them were called and fitted to give speech and pen to the inspired Word for our profit, and both did it like evangelists. "Blessed Lord, who hath caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy Holy Word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which Thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen." *Third Sunday in Advent Collect.*

When Tyndal went abroad to have his translation of the New Testament printed, he sent it in parts to London secretly, and

the Christian Brothers circulated it by thousands. "The Council threatened, the bishops anathematized, subscriptions were raised to buy up the remainder of the edition, and they were publicly burnt at St. Paul's. But the proceeds only aided in the publication of new editions, and the translation of the whole Bible. At length Cranmer succeeded in carrying a resolution for a translation through Convocation, but the bishops procrastinated because they feared to see the Bible in the hands of the people. The King's patience was exhausted, and he acted on his own responsibility. Miles Coverdale, one of the Cambridge circle, which bred Bilney, Cranmer, and Latimer, went abroad with the Scotch Wishart who, assisted by Tyndal, collected the published parts, united them, and in 1536 there appeared in London, published *cum privilegio*, and dedicated to Henry VIII., a complete copy of the English Bible translated by Tyndal. "In this act," says Froude, "was laid the foundation on which the whole history of England, civil as well as ecclesiastical, has been reared; and the most minute incidents become interesting connected with an event of so mighty moment."

The severance of the Church of England from that of Rome, though it led only to a change of absolute rulers, and the publication of the Bible, were the only acts of Henry VIII. that did much for reform.

Prior to the Reformation the scripture extracts used in public worship were heard only in Latin by the people, which to the great majority was an unknown tongue. This was read for them to God, and not with their consent or understanding. They could not rationally say, Amen. As already noticed, the application of King Wratislav, of Bohemia, to Pope Nicholas V. for permission to use the church service in their own language was not accorded, "because error might be engendered from ignorance of the meaning, and that therefore they must submit to hearing the prayers in Latin," of which they were utterly ignorant. The reception of a copy of the Bible by Henry and his sanction of its publication, *cum privilegio*, put the people in the free possession of the scriptures, but as the great majority could not read many were still in ignorance of them.

But the completion of the Book of Common Prayer, and its adoption by Parliament in the spring of 1552, with other reforms in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, led to the use of the vernacular only in the services of the church, as in the lessons for the day appointed in the Lectionary, the Epistles and Gospels, with the Psalms for the day, which did a great and blessed service by enabling all assembled to hear the

Word of God in their own tongue as rendered by the translators. This public reading was an ecclesiastical invitation and concession to the whole of the Christian people to hear and understand the scriptures for themselves. Thus the seals that had kept the Bible long secret were broken, and the right of private judgment conceded. Evidently this was a most praiseworthy endeavour on the part of the Protestant Church to make the people acquainted with their Bibles.

The publication also of the 39 Articles in 1571 was in the same direction, for in the 6th the supreme and final authority of scripture is affirmed; and though in the 20th the power of the church "to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in Controversies of Faith" is affirmed, yet in the 34th the concession to every "particular or national church of the same 'authority' to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained by man's authority," abandoned the exclusive claim of the Church of England as Episcopal to any authority not possessed by other Protestant national churches—German, Scotch, Swiss, &c.

PROGRESS OF REFORM.

1573-5. Though Queen Elizabeth was mainly dependent on the Puritans for the stability of her throne, she strenuously suppressed any forward movement on their part that might lead to political complications. Hallam tells us that, "in connection with the above religious movement at Northampton, the clergy in several dioceses set up, with encouragement from their superiors, a certain religious exercise called *prophesyings*. They met at appointed times to expound and discuss together particular texts of scripture under the presidency of a moderator appointed by the bishop, who finished by repeating the substance of their debate with his own determination upon it. These discussions were in public, and it was contended that this sifting of the grounds of their faith and habitual argumentation would both tend to edify the people very little acquainted as yet with their religion, and supply in some degree the deficiencies of learning among the pastors themselves." "These deficiencies were indeed glaring." There was one diocese in which only two clergymen could preach, and they had to be provided with a license. "It must, however, be evident to anyone who had experience of mankind that the precise clergy, armed not only with popular topics, but with an intrinsic superiority of learning and ability to support them, would wield these assemblies at their pleasure, whatever might be

the regulations devised for their control." The Queen entirely disliked them, and directed Parker to put them down. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, did not comply with Parker's monition; but in opposition, a letter signed by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Mildmay, Bishop Sandys, and Sir Francis Knollys, privy councillors, enjoined him not to hinder these exercises so long as nothing contrary to the church was taught therein. But the Queen's orders and his own being communicated by Parkhurst, the councillors were checked and the prophesyings were put down. These movements are evident proofs that the Puritan clergy were zealous for the religious instruction of the people. It has become fashionable to speak contemptuously of the Puritans, but only by those who know little about them and the great saving work they did for the church and the state by resisting the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts and their ecclesiastical supporters. They erred no doubt by enforcing their opinions, and by unjust and unseasonable encroachments on the legitimate pleasures of life; but if the moral state of the nation during the reign of Charles II., which was at the opposite extreme, is compared with Puritan times, there are few who would prefer the former.

But there was another numerous and earnest section of the English reformers, the Puritans, who owed their origin partly to the study of the Greek New Testament, and partly to intercourse with continental Presbyterians. For conscientious objections to conform to the Church of Rome as re-established by Mary, they fled to the continent to escape persecution. Holland, Germany, and Switzerland received them as Protestants, and conceded them liberty of conscience and worship. They had access to the universities, found kind friends among the clergy, and enjoyed ample opportunities to test Presbyterian Church order and administration. But in addition to these there was a considerable Puritan section whose dissent from Romanism was more in dogma than in church order and ceremonies. They were attached to episcopacy, and valued the Prayer Book. Scottish Presbyterianism did not attract them. Exile did not allay the controversy that prevailed at home between these Episcopal and Presbyterian Puritans.

They had Presbyterianism in its established and more developed form all about them, and met divines with as much, if not more learning than themselves, who were able to enter into their variations of opinion on ceremonies, clerical orders, and church government. Their contentions culminated at Frankfort, and great efforts were made by the Presbyterian party, in which Calvin intervened by letter, to convert their

opponents. But it ended, as such contentions often do, in only confirming them in their previously formed opinions. The death of Queen Mary and the restoration of the Protestant Episcopal Church under Elizabeth brought these Puritans home, who took possession of their livings, or, if already occupied, they were appointed to others. Their presence and influence began to be felt, but their divergent opinions on ceremonial were not concealed, and the opportunities they enjoyed of disseminating them were freely used. Froude in his History, vol. IX., p. 338, well describes the actual state of things at this time.

"But there was an earnest and numerous section of the English Reformation, quieter, purer, nobler far, in which the new ideas were developing themselves, and that was Puritanism. The Church of England was a latitudinarian experiment, a contrivance to enable men of opposing creeds to live together without shedding each others blood. It was not intended, and it was not possible that Catholics or Protestants should find in its formulas all that they required. The services were deliberately made elastic, comprehending in the form of positive statement only what all Christians agreed in believing, while opportunities were left open by the rubric to vary the ceremonial according to the taste of the congregations."

Thus the church soon became divided into two great camps, who ceased not to contend for the predominance of Episcopacy on the one side, or Presbyterianism on the other. As the first was in alliance with the crown, and included a majority of the noble and gentle, they did not rely alone on convincing arguments for the conversion of the Presbyterians, but resorted to repressive laws and unsparing persecution to weaken and subject them. But on the other hand the Presbyterians were generally strong in the cities and towns in which trade and commerce led to greater mental activity, love of liberty, and the closer examination of Christian doctrine, order, and ceremonial in their church.

PROGRESS OF PARTIES.

Elizabeth was no friend to any reform in religion that threatened to disturb the existing order or weaken her own authority. She had the *will* of her father Henry VIII., but was more politic in its enforcement. She would not, therefore, permit the Northampton prophecyings to extend, but suppressed them even when favoured by some of the bishops; nor did she favour the Catholic party by sparing the priests who were charged with being agents employed for her assassination, and

who laboured to recover the lapsed or wavering. She knew that the stability of the throne depended on the moderate Puritans, and though she disliked them she astutely availed herself of their support.

James I.—At her death a Stuart succeeded, whose policy was that of absolute power supported by the Episcopal Church. "No bishop no king" was one of his proverbs. The posture of affairs seemed favourable to the desire of reigning with as little impediment as possible to his own will. Elizabeth had lost much of her popularity by increasing taxation, the oppressiveness of her government, and tenacity in every point of ecclesiastical discipline. James instead of avoiding these errors repeated them. A splendid opportunity of healing the wounds of the Church of England was now offered. On his way to London he was presented by the Puritan clergy, with what is called the Millenary Petition, signed by 1000 ministers. It contained nothing that was inconsistent with the established hierarchy. But he was so disgusted with the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland by whom his life had been perpetually harassed that he would show no favour to these petitioners. The bishops had secured his goodwill by promising an obedience to which he was a stranger from churchmen, and a zeal to enhance his prerogative which they fully observed. He summoned a conference at Hampton Court. Of this conference Hallam says, "In the accounts that we read of this meeting we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the King, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed according to the custom of servile natures with insolence to their opponents." James presided, and had the support of eighteen out of the twenty-four of which the conference consisted. Dr. Reynolds, one of the most learned men in England, failed to reply, for he was brow-beaten and threatened by the King.

After this conference a few alterations were made in the church service, but nothing to reconcile a single minister to the existing discipline. The King's proclamation required all ecclesiastical and civil officers to do their duty by enforcing conformity, and admonishing all men not to expect nor attempt any further alteration in the public service, "for he neither would let any presume that his own judgment, having determined in a matter of this weight, should be swayed to alteration by the frivolous suggestions of any light spirit, nor was he ignorant of the inconvenience of admitting innovation in things once settled by mature deliberation." "He had previously ordered the bishops to proceed against all their clergy who did not observe the prescribed order. Bancroft, who succeeded

Whitgift, readily complied. But the greatest outrage on the civil rights of the petitioners was the commitment of ten of them to prison, the judges having declared in the star chamber that it was an offence finable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony as it tended to sedition and rebellion."

Thus the most deliberate and effectual means were used to widen the cleavage between Prelacy and Presbyterianism. James intensified this alienation by his political action. He strained his prerogative till it ceased to be constitutional and was arbitrary power.

1625. King Charles I. inherited all his father's love of arbitrary power. The monarchy was limited, but he was resolved to make it absolute. By levying duties and imposing subsidies without the consent of parliament, he exercised absolute power. But his attempts were resisted. The Puritans, as lovers of liberty, were his chief opponents, and so the conflict between the king and the parliament began, which ended in a civil war, his dethronement and death.

The term *Puritan* is misleading, for it was no longer appropriate to one leading party, but in this reign embraced three. "First the political Puritans who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty, the Puritans in discipline who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal Puritans who rigidly defended the speculative system, or Calvinism, of the Swiss reformers." But in opposition to all these stood *the Court party*, the hierarchy, *and the Arminians.* The last was a new party, and did not as yet comprehend all who were favourable to the church and the monarchy. The Church of England had been Calvinistic. At first King James was a zealous supporter of Calvinism but afterwards changed his opinion, and the clergy were forbidden to preach the doctrine of predestination. Laud, Harrison, and Corbet, notorious Arminians, were advanced to the episcopate. *These men and their disciples and successors were the strenuous supporters of passive obedience and of entire submission to princes.* The Commons desired their censure and expulsion from the church and court by which the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king deprived of his chief supporters and advisers, and probably abate his high claims on prerogative. As Strafford was the chief adviser of the king in his political policy, so was Laud in his religious. Their expressive name for their policy was "thorough," or in other words, the establishment of sacerdotalism in the church and arbitrary rule in the state. Both were executed, not only as opposed to the

national faith, but as enemies of the state. And their conduct justified the charge, for while Strafford sought to make the army subservient to the king's policy, Laud sought to make the church Erastian or the servant of the king.

1625-1629. "The system pursued," says Hallam, "by Bancroft and his imitators, Bishops Neil and Laud, with the approbation of the king, far opposed to the healing counsels of Burleigh and Bacon, was just such as low-born and little-minded men, raised to power by fortune's caprice, are ever found to pursue. They studiously aggravated every difference and irritated every wound. As the characteristic prejudice of the Puritans was so bigoted an abhorrence of the Roman faith that they hardly deemed its followers to deserve the name of Christians, the prevailing high-church party took care to shock that prejudice by somewhat of a retrograde movement, and various seeming, or indeed real accommodations of their tenets to those of the abjured religion. They began by preaching *the divine right*, as it is called, or absolute indispensability of *episcopacy*, a doctrine of which the *first traces*, as I apprehend, are found about the end of *Elizabeth's reign*. They insisted on *the necessity of episcopal succession* regularly derived from the apostles. They drew an inference from this tenet that ordinations by presbyters were in all cases *nil*. As this affected all the reformed churches in Europe, except their own, the Lutherans not having preserved the succession of their bishops, while the Calvinists had altogether abolished that order, they began to speak of them, not as brethren of the same faith, united in the same cause, and distinguished only by differences (little more material than those of political commonwealths, which had been the language of the Church of England ever since the Reformation) but as *aliens*, to whom they were not at all related, and schismatics, with whom they had no communion, nay, as wanting the very essence of a Christian society." (His. vol. I., p. 395-6.) Though the manner in which the author speaks of Bishops Neil and Laud is unworthy of a philosophic historian, the relation he gives of the rise of sacerdotalism is accurate and enables us to account for the part they took in the fruitless Savoy Conference. Sad to think, our own day witnesses the widespread revival of this intolerant sacerdotalism with a deliberate intention of using the Reformed Church of England for its ends.

It was Laud who sought to subvert Protestantism by removing the communion table from the body of the chancel, by enforcing a kneeling posture in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by exalting the clergy into a priesthood as in the

Roman Church, and by treating the consecration of the elements as a sacrifice. He was in fact the inaugurator of the sacerdotalists in the English Church. As a party it suffered much by the loss of its leaders, yet it existed as near the throne as it could approach, and at the Restoration Charles II. selected some of its leaders to support high church interests at the Savoy Conference. Such men were not the friends either politically or religiously of Presbyterianism or of liberty in either Church or State.

Now as the Puritans, whether political or religious, constituted a large proportion of the clergy, and were lovers of civil liberty and Presbyterian in principle, in parliament they firmly resisted the arbitrary innovations of King Charles I., and when the civil war broke out they became officers and subalterns in the parliamentary army. But there were many churchmen who never adopted Presbyterian principles, either in the ministry or the services of the church, but were devotedly attached to their own church, its episcopacy, and ceremonies. While regretting the policy of the King, they did not cease to be loyal, and, therefore, either swelled the ranks of the royal army or remained neutral, so that the war was really not on articles of faith, or variations of the essential doctrines of religion, so much as on prelacy versus Presbyterianism as forms of church government. The Protestant churches of the continent and of Scotland had adopted Presbyterianism as nearer to primitive usage, while the English church as a whole never abandoned prelacy, but suffered Presbyterianism to exist till it could be excluded and repressed. If this is remembered we shall be better able to comprehend the proceedings of the conference, and the terrible persecutions that followed the Act of Uniformity.

And there was another numerous party who belonged to none of the above. They were indifferent to all religion and prepared to adopt any form that promised them wealth and sensual enjoyment. These were very active in the restoration of Charles II.

The following are a few of the proofs adduced by Congregationalists on the identical use of the names *bishops* and *presbyters* :—

St. Jerome, the great translator of the scriptures into the Latin language affirms *Idem est presbyter, qui est episcopus.* (Com. on Tim.) Bellarmine, the distinguished Jesuit advocate of the Church of Rome, admits their identity of meaning, and for the origin of bishop claims only ecclesiastical authority.

This was also the opinion of the great majority of the reformers. When the question was asked of an assembly of

divines in the reign of Edward VI., "whether bishops or priests were first, and if the priest were first, then the priest made the bishop," Archbishop Cranmer affirmed that bishops and priests were at one time and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.

But close upon our own times, and best known by his invaluable commentaries, the late Bishop Lightfoot, D.D., a most learned churchman, considers the following evidence conclusive on the identity of the bishop and presbyter in the language of the *apostolic* age. This is under six heads.

In the opening of the epistle to the Phillipians, St. Paul (*a*) salutes the bishops and deacons. (*b*) In Acts xx., 17, he is represented as summoning to Miletus the elders or presbyters and afterwards exhorts them (v. 28), "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock in which the Holy Ghost hath made you [bishops-episcopous or] overseers." (*c*) Similarly St. Peter appealing to the presbyters—elders—of the churches addressed by him in the same breath urges them to fulfil the office of *bishops* with distinguished zeal, 1 Peter, v., 1, 2. (*d*) Again in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul, after describing the qualifications for the office of a *bishop* goes on at once to say what is required of deacons. He makes no mention of *presbyters*. This identification appears still more plainly from his directions to Titus i., 5-7, "That thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting and ordain (appoint) *elders* in every city, for a *bishop* must be blameless." Does it not appear from such proofs that the names are interchangeable, and that the *episcopal* office as a third and higher order in rule and ordination was an *ecclesiastical creation*, convenient it may be to the times, *but destitute of apostolic authority*?

After referring to the Jewish function of the priesthood, Dr. Lightfoot says, "So it was also with the Christian ministry—for communicating instruction and for preserving public order, for conducting religious worship, and for dispensing social charities, it became necessary to appoint special officers. But the *priestly* function and privileges of the Jewish are never regarded as *transferred* or *delegated to these offices*. They are called *stewards* or *messengers* of God, *servants* or *ministers* of the church, and the like—the very name given to the twelve was *apostles* or *sent forth*, and the seventy are called *evangelists* or preachers of the gospel—but the sacerdotal (hiereus) *title is never once conferred upon them*. The only priests under the gospel designated as such in the New Testament, are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood." (Christian Ministry, p. 182, Com. on Epistle to the Philippians.)

We now celebrate, not the bicentenary of the founding of the church, but of the chapel, and it is due in justification of our adherence to the protest made by our Puritan fathers against the Act of Uniformity, which forced two thousand of their ministers to resign their livings, and to the myriads of their congregations who came forth with them. They could not submit to the episcopal rule of the church, nor to the sacerdotal claims that it favoured, as maintained by the Laudians at the conference. In common with Presbyterians, and with Bishop Lightfoot, we hold that the primitive church had only two orders of ministers apostolically appointed—presbyters and deacons—and that their election was by the members of the churches to whom they were to minister. And on account of the many additions made to the doctrines of the New Testament by the churches of after ages, we do not admit of any church or ecclesiastical authority that has a divine right to impose their belief or observances on the members of Christ's other churches. For "whatsoever is not read in holy scripture, nor may not be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith." (Article 6., of the 39.)

But at the same time we at once concede the right of other churches to adopt the rule and order which they are convinced is most conducive to the promotion of their best spiritual interests. The apostolic appointment of bishops as a third order to ordain and bear rule in the church was held and defended by many holy, learned, and able fathers, bishops, and doctors of the ancient and modern Episcopal Churches. Bishop Hall, whom we all venerate, is amongst them, and having sent a translation of Scultetus on the subject to an opponent, and in inviting his perusal of it, remarks, "And if you shall not meet with convincing reason to bring you home to this opinion, yet at leastwise find cause enough to retain a charitable and favourable conceit of those who are (as they think, on good grounds) otherwise minded." What Bishop Hall hopes may at least result from the reading of Scultetus we on the other side hope that Episcopalians will "find cause to retain a charitable and favourable conceit of us who are," as we think, on good grounds, "otherwise minded." In perusing some of the learned defences of Episcopacy we have usually found that they look upon its early establishment in the churches—second century—as a very strong presumptive evidence of its later apostolic creation. Bishop Lightfoot inclines to this view, but leaves us without adducing any positive evidence in its support.

THE RESTORATION.

General Monk, for the army, the church, and the people, entered upon negotiations at Breda with Charles II. for his restoration, and he was prepared to make promises of religious liberty that he never meant to keep. It was convenient to deceive them until he had recovered the throne. One of these was that "No man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." But such a promise was, in the spirit of a Stuart, greater than he ought to make as a constitutional sovereign. Convocation and parliament might not consent, as it afterwards proved.

After his restoration, also, he issued a *declaration* in reply to a remonstrance of the London ministers, which was lauded by both parties, in which he said, "I will endeavour to give you satisfaction, and make you as happy as myself." Such a promise was premature and deceptive unless parliament was prepared to give it legal validity. Dr. Blakeney, on the Book of Common Prayer, says, on the necessity widely felt for conciliation, "A commission was appointed consisting of an equal number of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The Episcopalians were chiefly *of the Laudian School*, and they rendered the attempt abortive." This implies that the selection of these sacerdotalists had been carefully concerted, because their views were more in harmony with the King's secret sympathy for the Church of Rome, and intention to favour its restoration. When he visited Scotland he signed the Solemn League and Covenant that bound him to *extirpate popery and prelacy.*

When, therefore, the commissioners met, the church party would not yield on a single point to the Puritans, though represented by such divines as Baxter, Bates, Manton, and Calamy, who were willing to accept Archbishop Usher's model of church government as a compromise. This was episcopal in ordination and presidency but presbyterian in government, for the bishop could do nothing without first consulting the elders.

Among the points objected to by the Nonconformists the following may be noticed :—

They objected to the use of sponsors in baptism—to the use of the sign of the cross in baptism—the exclusion from the Lord's Table of those who would not kneel, because by Catholics it meant the adoration of the elements, and was a departure from the posture of our Lord and the twelve at its institution. They objected to pronounce all saved at burial except those excluded by church law. They objected too that they should by

subscription approve of three distinct orders in the ministry, whereas Cranmer and other reformers held that there was no difference, save in name, between a bishop and a presbyter. They objected to read apocryphal lessons at church—to confirmation in order to qualify for the reception of the Lord's Supper. They objected to taking the oath of canonical obedience. And lastly, they objected to subscribe the political declaration, "That it is not lawful upon any pretence to take up arms against the King."

"In addition to these they objected to the appointment of a clergyman to a parish by a bishop or a patron independently of the assent or consent of the parishioners, and to the want of discipline in the church, and admission to the communion of the ignorant and ungodly, who were palpably unfit, and that, on the contrary, it was the duty of the clergy by their ordination vows to do their utmost, by the exercise of all their talents, human, Christian, and ministerial, to seek to save people's souls, and, therefore, to teach, preach, and exhort them in the manner most conducible thereto.

Lastly, they could not admit the power of the civil magistrate nor the ecclesiastical power of the bishop to doom them to silence, so long as they could not prove upon them either apostacy, heresy, or perfidiousness, or anything inconsistent with the public peace." (Palmer's Introduction to Calamy.)

Men who made such objections and held such views on the rights of the people in the appointment of their ministers, and of ministerial qualifications and duties, could not consistently conform. Conscience and duty would not suffer them, and though on some minor points we may think them too scrupulous, yet if they had ignored essential things and conformed, we should have reprobated their conduct as a palpable betrayal of their people. Providence had made them the guardians for England and all humanity, of "Liberty of conscience, and liberty of subject," and they failed not, but did their duty, roughly it may be, and, in some respects narrow mindedly, yet, in the spirit and manner of Peter and John's reply before the Jewish council, when they were charged "not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus," "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." Duty and truth bound them to preach the gospel. Silence would have been a guilty compromise, for it would have weakened those who ought to be strong for the great emergency which came with James II's. attempt to restore Catholicism.

Convocation did little more than the conference to remove

these objections. It is true that the rubric on the real presence in Holy Communion, which had been excluded at the last revision was restored, and runs thus: "For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and, therefore, may not be adored," and "the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ are in heaven and not here." The prelatic puritans were much more numerous in proportion to the ritualists, and reaffirmed that neither transubstantiation nor consubstantiation was believed or taught by the Church of England, and hence that sacerdotalism was destitute of ecclesiastical authority.

The principal of the above objections were evidently on the variations between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Few of the 39 Articles were affected. They were almost all agreed on them. The independent study of scripture by the reformers had led many of them to the adoption of Presbyterianism as more in accordance with its teaching, and then it gave the laity a place and a voice in the election of their ministers and the management of ecclesiastical affairs. But quite as many were attached to Episcopacy, its ordinations, and supreme control in the government of the church. The 22nd Article of the 39, "On the Authority of the Church," declares that "the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies." But it ought to be observed that the authority above claimed for the church of this land does not extend to other national churches, for the 34th Article declares that "Every particular church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." This is a large concession, and favours the conclusion that had the great majority of the church become Presbyterian their authority would have been as valid to change and determine church order, rites and ceremonies, as that of the Episcopal Church. But decrees have no authority to bind the church unless adopted and passed by the Episcopal bench. The Lower House of Convocation can initiate and discuss any alteration or addition to rites and ceremonies, but they are silent in the Upper House. On the other side the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian National Churches are comprised of lay as well as clerical representatives, who are elected and deputed to determine all matters affecting the spiritual and temporal interests of the whole church as well as its separate communities. The Protestants of Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, Scandinavia and Scotland, established Presbyterianism in their national churches, and only a section of the English Church clung to the Episcopate and its

government of the church. The Presbyterian Puritans were not an unimportant division, but strengthened by the support and sympathy of the Protestants of all the European states. But as the Prelatic section had a succession of our monarchs who favoured and supported them for political as well as ecclesiastical ends, and who employed their regal authority in ruthless persecution of the Presbyterian Puritans in order to convert or extirpate them their increase was much hindered. Had not King Charles I. attempted illegally to rule without parliament and make himself an absolute monarch the civil war would probably have never been, nor Presbyterianism established.

Baxter's own account of the spirit that ruled the Puritans best describes their attitude. "I looked," says he, "to the end of all these actions, and the chief thing that moved me, next to the pleasing of God and of conscience, is that when we are all silenced and persecuted, and the history of these things shall be delivered to posterity, it will be a just blot upon us if we suffer as refusing to sue for peace; and it will be our just vindication when it shall appear that we have petitioned for peace, except sin damn our souls, and for my own part I could suffer much more comfortably when I had used these means and been repulsed than if I had used none. They only begged liberty of conscience to preach and worship God according to the primitive rule and simplicity, and that they might not be ejected and excommunicated, and forced to beg their bread because they could not consent to what they could not believe nor vow against their duty."

According to Baxter the contention on their side was reduced to three essential things—"The teaching of scripture in the primitive rule and simplicity; liberty of conscience to believe and teach as scripture and reason do allow; and no compulsion to believe and vow against their duty."

Looking across the two hundred and thirty years that stand between us and that conference with its sad ending, we painfully ask whether nothing better was possible than this? Both parties were professedly Christian. One had suffered much before and the other after the civil war. They had seen enough of persecution to learn that its spirit was antichristian and its fruit the ruin of both parties. Now they are assembled to make peace or renew the conflict. Is there no *via media*, no compromise without the sacrifice of Christian principle; no Usher to mediate by stating the law of Christ, and with apostolic grace, while he reproves, shows that mutual forgiveness can alone satisfy that law? No, the minds of the Laudians were

made up before they entered the conference that not a single concession of the smallest importance should be made to the Presbyterians.

The way that might be still one will soon divide; God only knows when to be reunited, if peace is not now made! We must admit that Baxter's spirit at this juncture was eminently peace-making. "It will be a just blot upon us if we suffer as refusing to sue for peace; and it will be our just vindication when it shall appear that we have petitioned for peace, except sin damn our souls." But there is no corresponding response from the Laudians; they are on the battlefield of their rights. "Pay the last farthing" is in their hearts. Had there been a seer, a wise man among them, to tell them what Christ and His Church would suffer through the coming centuries from this cruel rent; how they would form separate armies determined on each other's reduction; how enmity would rule their hearts instead of mercy, how each would be zealous for the increase of his party at the expense of the Established Church, allied as it is to the State, will arm itself with its sword and its coercive laws to crush the Nonconformists, and when these are abandoned for very shame it will fall back on Divine right, prestige, status, wealth, and exclusion, where possible, from civil rights and educational advantages, in order to prevail.

On the other side, the Nonconformists, assured of the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and invincible in their conscientious convictions, "will not cease" to plead for liberty of conscience and of the subject, "nor to teach and preach the truth they believe, with appeals to the law and the testimony" in its confirmation; and contrasting this with the rites, ceremonies, hierarchy, and other human inventions, as they say, of the Established Church, endeavour to justify their dissent and increase their numbers. Thus strife and debate, oppression and its bitter resistance, will be perpetuated between those who profess and agree on the fundamental doctrines of the same religion to their loss, hurt, and discredit, and in the very presence of those who are assiduously labouring to subvert all religion. This is no fancy picture, but a mere outline of what has been done and published since 1662. Is it not time for *common sense* to interpose and end the strife?

The determined opposition of the Laudians at the conference to every concession to the Puritans made it fruitless of conciliation. They parted greater opponents than they met. Were there no confessions of faith and order in Presbyterianism which it was impossible for the Laudians to admit? At that time their sacerdotalism was concealed or avoided, but really it

was the great obstruction to all compromise or any admission of Presbyterian ordination or church government, because so antagonistic to prelacy, its ordinations, and consequent sacerdotalism of the clergy, as to render conciliation and union impossible. Of this we can hardly doubt when we turn to the pages of the Rev. Charles Gore, M.A., a leader of his party in "Roman Catholic Claims," p. 69—"The patristic conception of the rule of faith finds it as we have seen (*a*) in the Bible, (*b*) in the witness of the general church interpreting the Bible. Let us briefly indicate to what results the application of this test will lead us. It will lead us to accept first of all these central doctrines of the faith—the Incarnation and the Trinity, which the church has formulated, and which we can, *guided by the church*, find clearly enough for ourselves in scripture; and also the doctrines of the inspiration of scripture and of the Atonement, which the church has always believed and inculcated, though there is a remarkable absence of definite dogmas to make an exact claim on our belief on these subjects." It will be observed the place he assigns to the church as the "formulator of definite dogmas," and the guide to find them in scripture for ourselves.

These cardinal truths have been found in the scriptures, believed and proved to be the power of God unto salvation by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, either through the ministry of all the churches, who believe that the rule of faith is found in the Bible, or apart from them by earnest seekers after the truth, for the Word of God is not bound to any organ or channel men have devised. "Forbid them not" is for all lands and ages. What follows shows the writer's real sentiments. "Next we shall accept all that body of truth which is the extension of the incarnation"—this is esoteric—"the doctrines of baptismal regeneration, of the gift of the Spirit in *confirmation*, of the *eucharistic presence* and *sacrifice*, of the ministry with its *authority* in *absolution*, and of the visible church."

It is enough to quote these opinions in order to perceive that the attitude of those who hold them is as uncompromising towards Protestants as that of the Laudians. On the scriptural authority of these inferential dogmas we enter into no controversy, but refer to them as throwing a clearer light on the opposition of the Laudians at the Savoy Conference and the tendency of their principles.

Baron Bunsen's account of Mr. Spörlein's visit—pastor at Antwerp who came to find comfort in the church and faith of this country—to Dr. Newman at Oxford is perhaps one of the best statements of the ultimate development of these doctrines.

"Dr. Newman invited him to breakfast for a conference on religious opinions. Spörlein stated his difficulties as resulting from the consistorial government being in the hands of unbelievers, while in the evangelical society which he had been tempted to join the leading members protested against every idea of church membership.

"The breakfast party consisted of fifteen young men whom Dr. Newman invited to an expression of opinion and advice; and the award (uncontradicted) was that Pastor Spörlein, as a continental Christian, was subject to the authority of the Archbishop of Mechlin. He objected that by that bishop he would be excommunicated as a heretic. 'Of course, but you will conform to his decision?' How can I do that, exclaimed Spörlein, 'without abjuring my faith?' 'But your faith is heresy.' How? Do you mean that I am to embrace the errors of Rome, and abjure the faith of the Gospel? 'There is no faith but that of the church.' 'But my faith is Christ crucified.' 'You are mistaken; *you are not saved by Christ, but in the church.*' Spörlein was thunderstruck; he looked around, asked again, obtained but the same reply. Whereupon he burst out with the declaration that 'he believed in Christ crucified, by whose merits alone he could be saved, and that he would not join the Church of Rome, abhorring her for intruding into the place of Christ.'" The conference at this ended by the departure of the students.

Far be it from us to suspect that the Catholic party in the Church of England hold similar views on the state of those who will not submit to church authority as interpreted by the Rev. Charles Gore, M.A., but logically pursued, it concludes with Dr. Newman's dicta, and can hardly be escaped. However, we may be charitably treated as those who err through ignorance if we prefer to wait till it has been satisfactorily shown that the doctrines of Dr. Gore's second class belong, according to St. Vincent of Lerins, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*, a dictum that has never been proved. Dr. Newman was a member of the Church of England at the time of Pastor Spörlein's visit. We fear that in the process nine-tenths of the Christians will be found to differ, and therefore be among the heretics not saved by Christ. Controversies on dogma based on fallible assumptions only blind and bewilder.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity, and it received the royal assent of a king, who had promised at Breda that "no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences

of opinion." Had sufficient time been allowed for the Nonconformists to learn what alterations and additions had been made by convocation in the Book of Common Prayer, it would have been less harsh and unjust. On this ground they appealed—first, that few of them could possibly see the Book of Common Prayer before the day appointed by the Act, for it had not been issued in time, with the alterations and additions recently made by Convocation, and therefore they could not acquaint themselves with what they were required to subscribe. And second, when they had time for its examination, "They met with many things there, that after the strictest search they could make, appeared to them not agreeable to the word of God."

Again, it is evident that no time was granted for them to make those reasonable and seasonable preparations which so great a crisis in their interests required. No conferences or assemblies could be called and held to ascertain the opinions of their wisest and best leaders, and to arrive at some consensus of opinion on their duty to God and His church, but each had to decide for himself how he ought to act on the approaching Sunday. Yet *two thousand* proved of one heart and one mind. There must have been among them great searchings of heart and much prayer for divine direction, with something like the still small voice saying, "this is the way, walk ye in it," to produce such unanimity. We remember the disruption of the Church of Scotland when the Free Church separated from their brethren of the Established Church in obedience, as they held, to God and to conscience. Our hearts were touched with the deepest sympathy, and with thankfulness we approved of the sublime act which proclaimed that they could not serve two masters. Still more sublime was the act of the two thousand, for it was not only the surrender of their comfortable livings, but going forth to poverty, privation, prison, or even death itself. This was the real natal day of the Congregational Church that later assembled at Castle Hills, and of which John Lock tells, "St. Bartholomew's Day was fatal to the Church of England. On the 17th of August 1662, the Sunday before St. Bartholomew's Day, they preached their farewell sermons. It was a day of defeat and of deepest sorrow, and for several generations it was known as the Black Sunday. Those who are acquainted with the depth and tenderness of the union which binds the evangelical pastor to his flock, require no description of a scene which others scarcely understand. Two thousand ministers of Christ took their last leave of two thousand congregations. The preacher's voice was often stilled

beneath his own emotion, or drowned in the sobs and tears of his flock. In some churches there was an awful silence, the only expression of sorrow that refuses to be comforted, and of the grief that intrenches itself in the inmost soul, while the voice is still, and the countenance fixed as in death itself."

And the Rev. J. B. Marsden, a clergyman, in his History of the Later Puritans, says, "To the Church of England the exclusion of the Nonconformists formed a melancholy triumph. . . . . Religion in the church was almost extinguished, and in many parishes the lamp of God went out. The places of the ejected ministers were supplied with little regard even to the decencies of the sacred office. The voluptuous, the ignorant, and the indolent, and even the profane received episcopal orders, and like a swarm of locusts overspread the church. . . . . It was the opinion of those who lived in those evil days, that had it not been for a small body of respectable clergymen, who had been educated amongst the Puritans, and of whom Wilkins, Patrick, and Tillotson were the leaders, every trace of godliness would have been clean put out, and the land reduced to universal and avowed atheism." All this while the true pastors were in hiding to escape from their persecutors or by stealth relighting the lamps that had gone out.

The Act of Uniformity has never been repealed in its provisions for the exclusion of Nonconformists from the ministry of the church. No matter how apostolic, how scriptural the ministry of one such may be, no pulpit in the establishment is legally open to his ministrations, while on the other hand they are now open and in some cases in possession of clergymen who are trying their utmost to undo the Reformation and make ready the church for the restoration of Catholicism. For sincere and honest Catholics, who believe that out of the pale of their church we are in danger of perdition, and are therefore zealous for our conversion, we have great respect, while we think they err; but of those who have not the courage of their opinions, but are stealthily using their opportunities to undermine and subvert the religion of our fathers, we have no unkind thoughts, nor utter blameful words, save that their conduct is unaccountable and inconsistent.

PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS.

Very probably in this church, where the Rev. Mr. Lewis ministered before 1662, there were aged members who had heard their fathers tell of the "poor priests" and the terrible sufferings of the Lollards, or who had seen and heard the clergymen who were imprisoned for taking part in the Northampton

propheeyings. The Revs. Edward Snape and Francis Merbury were sent by the High Commission to the Marshalsea in 1578. Of the former Mr. Coleman says, "He was a decided Nonconformist, a laborious preacher, and a zealous advocate for a pure reformation of the church. It is related that when the parishioners of St. Peter's understood that he did not account himself a full minister until he should be chosen by some particular congregation, they immediately chose him to be their minister." So far this was Congregational. The following is also told of Mr. Snape—"He was cast into prison for his Nonconformity by the bishops, and all his money being expended from his long confinement, he met with much unkind usage from the gaoler. The good man being one day in fervent prayer to God on his knees, and the window of his chamber open, he observed something thrown into the room, but he resolved to finish his prayer before he examined what it was. When he arose, he found to his great surprise that it was a purse full of gold. By this unexpected supply he was more comfortable and enabled to make his keepers more humane ever after."

Other Puritan ministers of the town and county suffered like Mr. Snape; the Rev. Humphrey "a most able and learned divine," was long imprisoned, and though the inhabitants presented a supplication to the Queen for his release, it was refused; John Penry, the martyr, and Arthur Wake were of them. Great Billing was presented to the latter, but he was deprived of this living. In 1593 he was minister of St. John's Hospital. The Rev. William Fishburne, who had been rector of Moulton, but resided at Abington. Dr. John Preston, born at Heyford, a very popular preacher and a great student, who wore out a strong constitution by his labours, but wishing to be among his friends returned to Northamptonshire. He was only 41 at his death and was interred at Fawsley church by the celebrated Dr. Dodd, of whom Fuller says, he was by nature a witty, by industry a learned, by grace a godly divine. Some of his published discourses are models of witty terseness and pregnant wisdom. This fine old church is in the park near the house, and as beautiful in situation as in its own simplicity. Lord Knightley's ancestors rest there, and their tombs are piously protected and restored. It might well be named a Puritan mausoleum, for Sir Richard Knightley's tomb is there. He was a well known leader of the Puritans, opposed to the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and protected the author and printer of the Martin Mar Prelate tracts. In order to escape detection the press was removed secretly to Fawsley House, and for a time was closely at work in a

small apartment said to have been used as a nursery; but again in danger of being discovered it was carried elsewhere, (p. 131.) being removed to a farmhouse of Sir Richard Knightley's, at Norton, and about the 23rd of January, 1589, conveyed by Stephen Gyfford "to the Howse of Master Hales in Coventrye by the commandment of the said Sir Richard and with his Carte and Horses." After this the press was seized near Manchester. About this time Sir Richard, for protecting and assisting noted Puritans, was summoned before the Star Chamber and heavily fined. However, its payment was remitted at the intercession of Archbishop Whitgift. Again, in the succeeding reign he ventured, in company with Sir Edward Montague, Sir Francis Hastings, and sixty or eighty other gentlemen to petition the King on behalf of the Puritan clergy of the county. But both at the Council table and Star Chamber they were sharply rebuked for their presumption. Soon afterwards Sir Richard was dismissed the lieutenancy of the county and Commission of the Peace. Lord and Lady Knightley kindly permit the use of their park for our teachers' picnics, and a visit to the tombs of the Puritan Knightleys ought to make the occasion a pilgrimage in memory of those who nobly endeavoured to succour our persecuted ministers.

From this time till the flight of James II., Act after Act was passed against Nonconformists, but especially against the ejected ministers and their successors, with the manifest design of their total suppression, which would be sooner and better achieved by the extinction of their ministers, but it was one of the means by which they discovered that the spiritual gifts of preaching and teaching in the church are not confined to an educated and officially appointed ministry, but are also possessed by some of the humblest members. Sacerdotalism had limited the chief functions to those in Holy Orders, and the fancy that the functions of clergymen were exclusively theirs long prevailed among Protestants, but, as in apostolic times, they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, "preached to the people, but some exclusively to the Jews only, while others, when they came to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus: and the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." And thus was the famous church of Antioch founded, for "There is some soul of goodness in things evil would men observingly distil it out." When the law said to Nonconformists that their ministry must cease, then the Spirit of God touched the hearts of humble members of the church, gave them the Word and virtually they became

the ministers. The Rev. John Wesley had to learn a similar lesson in the great revival.

THE REV. J. LEWIS AND THE CHURCH AT ST. GILES'.

The congregation at St. Giles and their minister were not only Puritan but Congregational in his appointment, as Dr. Calamy in the "Nonconformist Memorial" relates—"This living was formerly in the gift of the Earl of Northampton, who had bestowed it on Mr. Bennett; he being rich and not needing it gave it to Mr. Whalley, mayor of the town, *to put in anyone that he and the people liked best;* and he, with Mr. Bennett's full approbation, and *the good liking of the body of the people*, gave it to Mr. Lewis, who had enjoyed it twelve years before his ejectment in 1662. He was a reserved man, and "it doth not appear that he ever preached afterwards, indeed, he seldom went abroad, and not long after died at Northampton. He was greatly followed—the church was well attended—and universally respected, except by some Quakers, who would sometimes affront him, but he used to pass by without regarding." "He was a man of great meekness and singular prudence, much beloved by the neighbouring ministers, and an intimate friend of Mr. Daniel Cawdry, of Billing."

He was therefore eminent as a minister for the faithful and efficient discharge of his duties, and eminent from his exemplary character in every relation of life. In him, therefore, and his people we possess a very satisfactory representation of a Puritan church under the Commonwealth, and the mother church to which Castle Hill Nonconformist church chiefly owed its existence. On St. Bartholomew's Day he ceased to preach or minister in any respect, so that he was one of the faithful two thousand. He never preached afterwards, for he was an invalid, seldom out of doors, and not long after departed to his rest. On these grounds, and we deem them ample, the church at Castle Hill claimed him as their first pastor. Nor is there any evidence to the contrary, for Nonconformist ministers were not severed from their people by their ejection, but rather united more closely and tenderly by their common sufferings and privations.

The tradition which has always been repeated by the church at Castle Hill is of considerable value in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. Mr. Lewis's appointment as reported by Dr. Calamy was congregational, and his ministry lasted for twelve years. He may not have held very decided views on the subject himself, but many of his people had, and they

secured licences for two preaching stations, both Congregational. The Rev. Mr. Hook, of Creaton, ministered in one, and Mr. Harding in the other. Three others also were licensed as Presbyterian preaching stations. Other churches of Northampton as well as St. Giles' were more or less Puritan, and the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity made them Nonconformists. But whether Congregational or Presbyterian, it did not divide them, and when the chapel on The Castle Hills was built, they constituted the church that assembled there, except those who assembled at Lady Fermer's, who soon formed the Baptist church as subsequently related. No Congregational churches had been known at Northampton prior or subsequently to these for many years.

DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE.

In 1663, Dec. 26th, *a Declaration* was issued under the Dispensing and Suspending Powers, claimed by Charles and James, but which Parliament did not sanction. The former attempted to redeem his promise made at Breda. While this consisted in the exemption of particular persons, under special circumstances, from the operation of penal laws, the latter nullified the entire operation of any statute, or any number of statutes. Charles made a second attempt in 1672 to suspend the penal laws, but this was quite as much in favour of Catholics as Nonconformists. A great many Nonconformists availed themselves of the royal permission, and obtained licences for services in private dwellings. At Northampton one of these was in the house of Robert Marley, Congregationalist, so that in a little above a year Congregationalists assembled for worship, and probably had done so previously in the same house. In these the continuity of the church that left St. Giles' with their minister is implied. There is no record of the people founding or forming a Congregational church, but on the contrary, in the election of the Rev. S. Blower, their proceedings were those of a church long in existence. No doubt many of them were Presbyterian, for in after times there were only two Congregational churches at Northampton, Castle Hill and College Lane. This much is certain, that they had been members of one or other of the Puritan churches of Northampton till the Act of Uniformity made them Nonconformists.

After the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, Nonconformists suffered much. Some were imprisoned, others fined or banished. A few escaped because they had not been conspicuous by their independency. Ministers suffered most on account of their greater influence. The Rev. Thomas

Browning, ejected from the vicarage of Desborough, was lying in Northampton gaol. The Rev. John Maydwell, M.A., ejected from Kettering rectory, was his companion, at least, a part of the time. However, he had managed to escape from his pursuers several times by putting on disguises. Vincent Alsop, M.A., was there also for six months because he had been found guilty of praying with the sick and preaching the gospel to the poor.

That old gaol drew many a sympathetic eye and many a prayer for suffering brethren. Likely too, kind gifts and letters found entrance from without, for gaolers are not always as stern as their office. Some homes, also, of well-to-do Nonconformists, to which access was not so exposed, with rooms better fitted for concealment, were open to country ministers, who had been driven from village livings. There they found refuge with domestic comforts, and such intercourse with spiritually minded brethren as lightened their cares and encouraged their hopes. In Northampton the number and respectability of the Nonconformists served to restrain over zealous conformists from enforcing the law. In the hearts also of liberal churchmen, as among the ancient Romans, there has always been, less or more, dislike of persecution, and sympathy for its victims. The more we know of English love of liberty and justice, the more do we wonder that persecution suffered for conscience sake, should ever have been tolerated among us. Independency knows nothing of its infliction.

CONVENTICLE ACT, 1664.

The *Declaration of Indulgence* was too liberal, too lenient to please high churchmen, and they brought all their persuasions to bear on the weak-minded, fitful monarch till he put his signature to the Conventicle Act, called an *Act for suppressing seditious conventicles*, already passed by Parliament, in 1664, which made it penal for more than five persons, besides the family, to assemble in private houses. A justice of the peace might inflict the penalty without a jury. For a season at least, pastoral visits, casual encounters, and meetings for prayer must take the place of public services. But kind brave hearts are always ingenious in devising ways for the interchange of thought and friendly salutation. When letters would betray, messages by a mutual friend are like living telephones that connect the near and the distant.

The shepherds had felt the wrath of their enemies, but now their flocks, and "it is extremely worthy of remark," says Ralph in his History, "that in the Act to prevent and suppress

seditious conventicles, disloyalty and schism are blended together, and it is presumed that no one can be a sectary without being a traitor," just like what is now said by some: "To be a dissenter is to be an infidel." Malice is an adept in the invention of bad names.

But the Conventicle Act was not enough. When the new incumbents discovered that the hearts of many were not with them, and not likely to be, so long as their old ministers had easy access to their homes, they had no rest, but reported that conspiracies were so fostered that discontent and treason were widespread. Cromwell's veterans were scattered about and followed peaceful avocations, but their grand victories could neither be forgotten or forgiven. Betrayed, but unconquered, so long, it was said, as they could hear their favourite preachers, whose voices only were enough to bring back the battlefield, Cromwell, and the advancing foe, stirred their hearts, and they were ready to follow any able successor to emancipate Nonconformists from the cruel wrongs from which they were suffering. This ought to be made impossible. The deporting of their ministers by banishment from the land would be most effectual, but Parliament, with its fear and hatred of the veterans, did not dare to publish so sweeping a measure.

THE FIVE MILE ACT,

Passed in 1665 as a less dangerous expedient, was adopted instead. Its aim was the excision of ministers and their teaching, for the Act was entitled, "an Act for restraining Nonconformist ministers from inhabiting corporations," and on the ground "that Nonconformist ministers have settled themselves in divers corporations in England, sometimes three or four of them in a place thereby seeking opportunity to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of His Majesty's subjects to the great danger of the church and kingdom." For those who had never learned a trade, but were educated for the ministry, preaching and teaching were their only means of obtaining a livelihood, and to prohibit their employment was cruel and vindictive. The Act had the precision which excluded the children of parents who would seek to employ most of all their own ministers, whom they could trust and who had themselves enjoyed university teaching. Besides, it was an honourable means of supplying their necessities, but to enact "that such persons shall not come or be within five miles of any city and town corporate or borough sending burgesses to parliament," or "within the same distance of any place where they may have exercised their ministry,"

was to complete their ruin. It would be difficult "to drive a coach and four" through this Act. Its five-mile boundary, which no minister could pass without being liable to detention, excluded them from every corporate town. Destitution would be inevitable unless some kind friends in the villages supplied their wants. But the deeper design of the framer of the Act was to prevent the education of successors, and so, as they thought, indirectly extinguish dissent.

PREACHING STATIONS.

Fortunately, we are not quite destitute of information about these meetings, and of the ministers who officiated at them. A few years ago a list was discovered in the Public Record Office, London, which throws some light on the subject: "Here at Whitehall," says Mr. Marsh the transcriber, "that old palace of the King, which was the scene of most of his revels, and of which a fragment remains, in a leather sack hidden away in some cellar, this precious list of names survived the disasters which befel the palace by fire and water, and after the lapse of two centuries has been brought to light once more." This list contains 3,400 names in all, of either preachers or owners of preaching stations, with the denominations to which they belonged. They had availed themselves of the licenses granted after the King's Declaration of Indulgence. We owe much to Mr. Marsh for the care and pains he has taken in the arrangement of this catalogue.

In the Northampton section are found—Anthony Downe, John Harding, Richard Hooke, Congregationalist and preacher; he had been ejected from the church at Creaton, where he preached in his own house. Afterwards he established a school at Northampton and obtained a license. Valentine Chadock, or Cradock, Presbyterian. Robert Marley, *Congregationalist*, and Samuel Walford, Presbyterian, whose houses, in addition to those of Hooke and Harding, were licensed as meeting houses. Northampton had therefore five houses in which the worship of God was celebrated in the simple forms still used by the Presbyterian churches.

The Rev. Jeremy White, a Nonconformist minister, made a careful catalogue of those who suffered under Charles II. There were sixty thousand, and five thousand of them had died of their sufferings. What a vast amount of poverty, neglect, and cruel treatment is concealed under these numbers! James II., in his controversy with the Church of England, offered Mr. White a thousand guineas for this black list, but he destroyed it rather than see it applied to favour Romanism. He dreaded

Catholics even more than High Churchmen. Daniel De Foe, author of Robinson Crusoe and a Nonconformist, estimated the number who perished in prison as still greater, and the loss of property to Nonconformists at not less than two million of pounds in three years. They were indeed troublous times. Downe, Harding, and Hooke must depart if the Act is enforced at Northampton. Deprived of their ministry, how could the congregations be kept together. "The shepherds were smitten and the sheep would be scattered." An outburst of wrath seemed imminent. But as the Roman Catacombs and the Highland caves hid the people of God from their persecutors, so many found a refuge where least expected. To wound the just and good is to pierce the heart of humanity. As we open our door to the hunted deer, so many a door was opened to them—some by seeming foes, and some by friends in the faith who had conformed. Here they were safe at present, for their generous protectors were unsuspected. The licenses already referred to permitted residents to meet for worship, but were not available for ministers. Some Nonconformists would not be shielded by the Royal Indulgence which parliament had refused to render legal. This list is subject to revision.

THE REV. SAMUEL BLOWER.

It is probable that the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Blower did not begin before the King's Indulgence was confirmed by the silent acquiescence of the executive. There is no mention of him in Mr. Marsh's list. Hence we conclude that about 1670 the church already in existence busied themselves to secure a pastor. They were not of those who held that the pastoral office was a human invention which encroached on the liberties of the church, or repressed the free exercise of spiritual gifts. They were lovers of order as well as of independency, and according to the command of God sought out a man who, by his knowledge of divine things, his separation to the ministry by special call and self-consecration, aptness to teach and a blameless life, gave them satisfactory evidence of his fitness.

A better choice could not have been made. They had chosen him after much prayer to be their pastor, but there is no record of the act in our church book. Probably it was done secretly to avoid publicity. Whether the church still continued to meet at Robert Marley's, or in one of the cottages spared by the fire on Castle Hills, and fitted up for a temporary chapel, we know not. No record has been found.

Mr. S. Blower was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, from which he was ejected for his Nonconformity in 1662.

Afterwards he began his ministry at Woodstock, and continued there until he was silenced, and he then removed to Northampton to be our first minister as a Nonconformist church. Dr. Calamy describes him as "a man of a meek temper, peaceable principles, and of godly life. He had, like St. Augustine, very exalted thoughts of divine grace and redeeming love. He discovered a very tender regard for young persons, and would often address himself very affectionately to them, not only in his sermons but in his visits, and rejoiced much in their hopefulness. He affected not a pompous way of preaching, nor did he dispense the truths of the gospel with the wisdom of men, knowing that it was not so likely to be attended with a divine blessing. Scripture revelations in scripture language were the main subjects of his discourses. He was very desirable as a friend, being free and communicative, candid in the last degree, and of a very sympathising spirit with those in affliction, and particularly mindful of them in his prayers. And he was so firm and constant when he professed friendship that it must be some very ill thing indeed that was the occasion of his breaking it off. Wherever he had an interest he was for improving it for God to his utmost, and took all opportunities to do so." A funeral sermon on Mrs. E. Tub, Ps. xviii, 46, was published by him —Mr. Wood's—Athenæ Oxonienses—silence on this good man, with that of several others appears designed. Mr. Blower was as well suited to the times as to the people. A bolder man would have exposed them and himself to greater perils. A more timid would not have had enough courage to cope with the difficulties and dangers of his office. "His meekness, peaceable principles, and godly life," so won the hearts of his own people that they let their differences on church government fall into abeyance, became a united church, and so conciliated his opponents as to disarm them.

Conformity did not always mean conversion. Many, though regular in their attendance at church, were still at heart Nonconformist and sympathised with their suffering brethren. Oppressive Acts of Parliament lost half their intention from the absence of informers and the clemency of their executors. Nonconformists owed much to the growing liberality of municipal institutions. Common pursuits and ends foster united action in the defence and establishment of common rights. Oppression and persecution are therefore both disliked. Plantagenet kings had to purchase the support of the larger towns, when they would humble the proud barons, by granting them more liberal charters in exchange for their gold and men-at-arms, which their successors had to respect. Northampton was one

of these towns. Parliaments had sat there. Its staple trade was beginning to flourish. Cromwell lodged in that fine old mansion in the Horse Fair, and it is firmly maintained by some that boots were made for his Ironsides to bear them to the battle of Naseby. Its prison had, therefore, few Nonconformists of the town. The majority were imported.

Mr. Blower was a respectable citizen, and permitted to attend to his ministry without molestation till its close. Time had witnessed to his moral worth, his learning, his fine example, that did honour to the town, allayed animosity, and excited emulation in the young. His ministry must have been fruitful, from the purity and earnestness of his preaching, for when he removed, one hundred and sixty four members invited his successor. But we are inclined to credit him with being the builder who united the different *meetings* in the church at Castle Hill.

1696.—THE BAPTIST CHURCH, COLLEGE STREET,

Was founded in this year. Disagreement on infant baptism and on the duty of Christians to carry the Gospel to all the people led a number of those who had previously been connected with the Presbyterian or Independent meetings to form a separate meeting for worship, and this was held "at the house of the Dowager Lady Fermer, in the 'quarter' or aristocratic portion of Northampton overlooking the River Nene, that flowed a few score yards away at the end of the greensward. It was here that a church was formed" as a *Congregational Church of Christ* in the presence of the Rev. Richard Davis, pastor of the Congregational Church, Rothwell, the greatest organizing Nonconformist minister the English Midlands had ever seen. Besides performing the duties of the pastoral office, he added the character of an itinerant, and extended his journeys eighty miles in every direction around his place of abode." It is probable that the new church at Northampton was in the main composed of members of the Rothwell church, who had either removed to Northampton, or were converted by his preaching in the neighbourhood. Mr. Davis was ordained at Rothwell, on Sunday, March 22nd, 1869." (See Mr. John Taylor's "History of College Street," p. 14.)

This is a very interesting statement, for it reveals nothing like exclusiveness on the question of paedo-baptism. Mr. Davis was an Independent minister, and the Rothwell contribution to the new church was probably paedo-baptist. The whole account, in fact, implies that the evangelistic zeal, for which Mr. Davis and his people were noted, and for which they suffered from

their high Calvinist brethren, was so much theirs also that the church was formed in order to secure the greater liberty it required to preach the Gospel to all the people, and that from the first it followed the example of Bunyan Meeting at Bedford, in which adult or paedo-baptism was not a term of church fellowship. The Dowager Lady Fermer was not a professed Nonconformist, but an evangelical member of the Church, who, like the Countess of Huntingdon of later times, believed that the Gospel was to be preached to all, and that the salvation of souls was of infinitely more moment than the maintenance of human systems of theology.

THE REV. THOMAS SHEPARD'S MINISTRY.

Mr. Blower's ministry was fruitful, for the church covenant was signed by one hundred and sixty-four members. He had laboured through much of the dark night of persecution when all was adverse, and drew the Presbyterians and Congregationalists together, and prepared the way for his successor. He removed to Abingdon, in Berks, where he died in 1701.

Very soon after his departure a successor was found in the Rev. Thos. Shepard, M.A., who received a unanimous invitation, as our old church book has it recorded.

Acts and Memoirs of the Particular Church of Christ in Northampton of which Mr. Samuel Blower was Pastor.

"In the year 1694 this church did upon the departure of the Reverend Mr. Blower, their former Pastour, give their unanimous call to Thomas Shepard to succeed him in the Pastoral office, who thereupon accepting the call did actually succeed him in the office aforesaid."

Mr. Shepard was for some time a clergyman in Buckinghamshire, but felt it his duty to secede from the Established Church. His ministry at Northampton, and afterwards at Bocking, as well as the church covenant framed soon after he came, show that he held very exalted views of personal piety in the minister and members of the church, and that he sought to quicken them in vital godliness.

THE CHURCH COVENANT.

"*We, this church of Christ, whose names are underwritten, having given up ourselves to the Lord, and one to another according to the Will of God, do promise and covenant in the presence of God to walk together in all the Laws and Ordinances of Christ according to the Rules of his Gospell, thro' Jesus Christ so strengthening us.*"

This is very brief, but expressive of the essentials of church life and fellowship.

Mr. Shepard responded to the call as we learn by the following entry—"Thomas Shepard accepting the call this church gave him did own and declare his willingness to consent to walk with them as a pastor with his people, so long as we could walk comfortably together in all the ways and ordinances of the Lord." This made his stay conditional on their Christian consistency and advance in the divine life. This view is sustained by the following extract from one of his published sermons — "*The Loving Penitent.*"

"Being united to Christ by faith, we are to use our faith and inure ourselves to live by faith on the Son of God. They that make the best of ordinances, and converse most with the promises, these persons have the strongest faith, and they that have the strongest faith have most of this blessed peace. Another means for the attainment hereof is this: Thou art to remember to carry it well toward the Holy Spirit of God, for if we grieve him he will grieve us, and not seal us for his own. We are with thankfulness to receive every divine afflatus, readily to comply with and cherish all his motions to keep up a spiritual frame, as waiting for the illapses of the Holy Spirit, and ready to meet them. The more close we walk with the Lord Jesus Christ, ordinarily he gives us the more of his peace, Matt. ii., 29. But though we have all three witnesses, the spirit, the water, and the blood dwelling in us, yet an unguarded deportment, and careless conversation, will stifle the testimonies of those divine witnesses in the bosom, that either they aid not nor give in their testimony at all, or do it with a low voice. On the other hand, if we enlarge our acquaintance with God, we enlarge our peace. (Job xxii., 21.) By degrees we shall dwell under the shadow of the mediation, P. cxl., last verse, and have such sweet peace as they only understand that have experience of it."

Mr. Shepard was a poet as well as a divine, and prepared the way for Watts and Doddridge by a finer rhythmic flow of verse, as well as by a richer vein of Christian thought. In England's Antiphon, Mr. G. Macdonald says, "Some of his hymns are admirable." The following extracts are selected as examples. The following are taken from the penitential cries:

FOR COMMUNION WITH GOD.

"Alas, my God, that we should be
Such strangers to each other!
O that as friends we might agree,
And walk and talk together!

Thou knowest my soul does dearly love
The place of Thine abode;
No music drops so sweet a sound
As these two words *My God!*"

"May I taste that communion, Lord,
Thy people have with Thee;
Thy Spirit daily talks with them,
O, let it talk with me!
Like Enoch, let me walk with God,
And thus walk out my day,
Attended with the heavenly guards,
Upon the King's highway."

"When wilt Thou come unto me, Lord?
For, till Thou dost appear,
I count each moment for a day,
Each minute for a year."

"There's no such thing as pleasure here,
My Jesus is my all—
As Thou dost shine or disappear
My pleasures rise or fall.
Come, spread Thy savour on my frame—
No sweetness is so sweet:
Till I get up to sing Thy name
Where all Thy singers meet."

Mr. Shepard's stay at Northampton was very short. On September 11th, 1696, "at the church meeting then holden it was publickly owned by this church that Thomas Shepard, their present pastor, was not under any obligation to a continuance with them by virtue of any conditional consent or promise made upon setting down." To which he adds—"The condition not being observed by this people, my engagement to them thereupon must needs cease." That condition is stated in his reply to the call. From some cause or other they were not "walking comfortably together." It is said by some that his opinions on certain political points had given offence in high places, and either they did not approve of them, or did not wish to be held responsible for them.

Additional information about Mr. Shepard, after leaving Northampton in 1698, is collected by Mr. Taylor's indefatigable researches, so that we can follow his career to its happy close. From this, too, we learn that he was a son of the Rev. W. Shepard, formerly minister of the Established Church at Tilbrook, Bedfordshire, subsequently pastor of the Congregational

Church, Oundle, and afterwards at Kettering, Northamptonshire, before his son's removal to Northampton. On leaving Northampton he preached as a probationer to the Presbyterian Church assembling in Poor Jewry Lane—now Jewry Street, Aldgate—but his election by a majority of one was over-ruled. "In 1700 he settled at Bocking-cum-Braintree, in Essex. Here his life-work as a pastor and writer began and ended. It is told that he found a few people assembling in a barn, but through the blessing of God on his labours, and his striking and powerful delivery, in a few years he attracted a numerous and respectable congregation, so that the original foundation of the present spacious meeting house, which stands at the end of Bocking, from Braintree, would be laid in 1707. During a ministry of nearly forty years the church prospered, and several hundreds acknowledged him as their father in Christ. Here, also, he wrote his works, and united with Mr. Mason, a kindred spirit and intimate friend, in the production of the 'Songs of Praise,' and 'Penitential Cries,' which breathe the language of their hearts and their fervent desire to promote the edification of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ and worship him in the Spirit. At length he attained the age of 73 and grew old in his Master's service. To the last he retained the warmest affections of the great body of his flock, and finished his earthly course on the 29th of January, 1739." Mr. Angus calls him "an excellent puritanical man." His short and almost fruitless ministry at Northampton with his cold departure because "the condition not being observed by this people" when he settled among them, furnish very imperfect evidence of what he was as a minister of Christ. The field was not adapted to his method of culture. His heart was set on spiritual things, theirs too much on earthly things. He was faithful, they forgot the promises made to him, and when reminded of them inscribed their discreditable neglect in the church book. But at Bocking the ground was prepared, and an abundant in-gathering followed the sowing of the same seed used at Northampton.

POLITICAL PROGRESS.

Great political and social changes had taken place in the latter part of Mr. Blower's ministry. The profligacy and selfishness of the King had made his court as immoral as that of Louis XIV., without its decent hypocrisy. In grossness, as pictured by one who was present, it surpassed even the licensed resorts of the libertine, and was more or less imitated by every grade of society.

Now it is fashionable to ridicule the puritanism that stands in the way of similar manners. Even some of the press teach that shameless licentiousness is liberty, for the "temperance, soberness, and chastity," taught by the ten commandments seem to have no place in their code of morals. Ridicule is said to be one of the best preachers of righteousness, because it exposes the vices to contempt and censure; but unhappily its shafts are now aimed at the virtues themselves by these writers and their imitators. Ridicule was silent and impotent in reforming the court of Charles, and he died as he had lived, the slave of passion and of superstition.

His brother, James II., who succeeded him, openly avowed what Charles had silently promoted. He had been for some time a Catholic, and as King he resolved on the re-establishment of his religion, but as the laws that limited his power could not be repealed, he had recourse to *prerogative*, the fatal sandbank on which the House of Stuart had already suffered shipwreck. Sworn to maintain the laws and institutions of the country, he applied himself assiduously to undermine and overthrow them. "Almost the whole of this short reign," says Hume, "consists of attempts, always imprudent, always illegal, sometimes both, against what was most loved and revered by the nation." That he might as speedily as possible introduce Catholics to all the chief offices of state, the King assumed a power of issuing a *general indulgence* and of suspending at once all the penal statutes by which conformity to the established religion was enforced. As Nonconformists were included in this indulgence, at first it appeared a great boon, but mature reflection soon corrected this mistake of thoughtless haste. Now they perceived that it was only a cunningly devised blind or bribe to purchase their silence on the appointment of Catholics to office. They knew that his love for Nonconformists was less than for the established church, and that he could crush both once in possession of an army of French, English, and Irish Catholics. This was not to be tolerated any longer.

Once more England asserted its right to depose and banish despotic kings, and to be ruled only by the laws Parliament had enacted. We are familiar with the negotiations that led William of Orange and Queen Mary to embark for England and land at Torbay on November 5th, 1688. Their reception was national. Parliament assembled without delay and confirmed all that had been done, proclaimed the accession of William and Mary to the throne that King James had abandoned and afterwards fled to France.

The relief and deliverance felt by Nonconformists was inexpressible. For twenty-six years there had been no respite to their fears. They were like sheep, of whom the wolves were ever in pursuit. Act after Act, each more severe than the preceding was passed to deprive them of their ministers, prevent the education of their children, reduce them to poverty, till conformity was their only way of escape. Now liberty of conscience and of person rose like the sun of a new day after a long dark night. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen the Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us whereat we are glad." So rejoicing and praise were heard in the dwellings of Nonconformists.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

The *Declaration*, which prepared the way for the Bill of Rights passed by the Convention Parliament, was the third great charter of English liberty. This charter, and the exile of the Stuarts, ended the long conflict, which from the reign of King John had alienated the people from their king, led to two revolutions, cost one king his head and another his throne. The Declaration of Rights provided that "All the points which had of late years been disputed between the king and the people were finally determined, and the powers of royal prerogatives were narrowly circumscribed and more exactly defined than in any other period of the English government." (Hallam). Had it not been for the steps taken by France and the native Irish to restore the Stuarts, this great revolution would have been bloodless.

SITE OF THE CHAPEL.

The first reference found to the future site of the chapel was 1669, in the will of Thomas Thornton, gentleman, which is duly recited in the following Deed of Sale to gentlemen who represented the church, and held it in trust till trustees were legally appointed. A short description is herewith supplied with Bridge's account of St. Mary's Church.

The piece of land afterwards purchased for the site of our chapel lay between St. Mary's churchyard on the south side and a great mass of rubbish on the north. It had a way or street on the east side for its boundary, and on the west Chalk Lane or footway, separating it from the fosse of the castle, probably then almost filled up. On the opposite side of the fosse the castle

wall was still standing, for a part of its remains can still be traced all along behind the cottages built there. The western boundary wall of St. Mary's churchyard was still standing, and had only to be continued to form our chapel boundary wall. Some levelling had to be done before the site was prepared, and the great heap of rubbish disposed of. But the fosse was near for its reception. Mrs. Forest, who has lived above seventy years close by, remembers the time when the fosse with the great heap of rubbish appeared as in our first illustration. It was a favourite playground for children. Its removal was then going on, for one night a great noise awoke them in terror; it was the noise made by the fall of one side of the heap. The fosse was probably dry from the first, as no springs are known that supplied it with water, and a culvert connected it with the river.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

Of this church, which once stood either in or adjoining the graveyard, south of our chapel boundary, very little is known. Bridges, in his "History of the Antiquities of Northamptonshire," supplies this short notice—"In a lane or street called St. Mary's street, lying eastward of the castle, was the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It was confirmed to St. Andrew's Priory," in common with other town churches, "by Hugh Wills, Bishop of Lincoln." "In 1589 it was united with the vicarage of All Saints." "The last incumbent was Thomas Parnell, appointed 1493." Its destruction was neither by fire nor tempest, but from persistent neglect, ending in abandonment. Other churches were near which sufficed to accommodate the population, and the revenue of St. Mary's was too small for a living.

DEED OF CONVEYANCE.

Know all men by these presents that Thomas Warner of Northampton in the county of Northampton sends greeting Whereas Thomas Thornton late of the town of Northampton gentleman, did by his last will and testament bearing date the 7th day of Nov. *anno dom.* 1669 did therein amongst other things give bequeath and devise unto Mary Warner, Granddaughter of the said Thomas Thornton and her heirs All those his two messuages, houses or tenements with their appurtenances situated and being in the said town of Northampton in or near the Castle Hills, as in and by the said last will and testament may more fully appear. And whereas the said Warner did afterwards intermarry with one Mary Talbot of London, pewterer, with said Mary; and both of them since dead leaving behind them a daughter named Joyce, the only issue of their two bodyes whereby the said estate and premises did descend to and become vested in the said Joyce as heir-at-law to the said Mary, her mother deceased, And whereas the said two houses or tenements were demolished and burned down by a sudden fire which lately happened there. The ground whereupon the same stood having ever since lain waste and yielded none or very

DODDRIDGE OLD CHAPEL.

little profit to the said Joyce, being now an infant of fourteen years and upwards has legally chosen and appointed the said Thomas Warner, her uncle to be her guardian. Now know ye that the said Thomas Warner by and with the privity and assent and at and upon the request and desire, and to and for the sole benefit and advantage of the said Joyce Talbot and for and in consideration of the sum of six and twenty pounds of good and lawful money of England for the use of the said Joyce to him in hand paid by Thomas Dust of the town of Northampton John Buswell of Denton in the county, yeoman ; R. Chambers of the said town of Northampton ; John Sanders of the said town, carrier ; George Mason of the said town, shoemaker ; Thomas Rabbitt of Little Hoaton, Grocer, att and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof he the said Thomas Warner doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and of every parte and parcell thereof doth acquitt release and discharge the said Thomas Dust, &c., &c., as above.

After recapitulating other legal forms it adds that

the two houses or tenements lately stood, and late in the tenure or occupation of Widow Golby and Thomas Mawbut All which premises are in the Parish of St Peter's and the said town of Northampton between St. Mary's Churchyard and there on the south side thereof, and a good dunghill or place of rubbish on the north side thereof together with all and singular the outhouses edifices buildings yards and gardens, &c., &c., And the remainders of all and singular the premises and all the estate title and interest . . . whatsoever of him the said Thomas Warner and the said Joyce Talbot.

Two other names not found above appear in this part of the deed, Richard Pendrick and William Burcott, to whom also it is conveyed and their heirs and assigns for ever

in fee simple without any manner of conditions, power of revocation, or restraint whatsoever to alter or change, &c.

Thus it is a freehold *dedicated to God* as far as it could be made by legal conveyance. The printing of this deed may seem useless to many, but to those who like to honour their pious ancestors it is of great value, for here are names, still heard among us, of men of some note, property, and place, buying this land and holding it over till returning liberty provides the appointment of trustees, responsible to the church for the sacred uses for which it had been bought. Nor are all residents of Northampton. Some are villagers, as John Buswell, of Denton, and Thomas Rabbitt, of Little Houton, who united with those in Northampton itself to secure for their use a chapel or a meeting-house. They evidently did not despair of Nonconformity, for they believed that it had in it the life of faith, and the hope that maketh not ashamed.

THE BUILDING OF CASTLE HILL CHAPEL, 1695.

Our now venerable chapel was built this year, and was the first Nonconformist chapel in Northampton. Our fathers worshipped here, and it was the spiritual home with which the happiest, purest, and most memorable events of their lives were

associated. Thither, too, they led their children to be instructed and converted by the Spirit of God through the Gospel and become their successors. From a happy conceit of nature we treat inanimate things as if they witnessed and participated in our conflicts and triumphs, joys and sorrows. The temple of God is within us, and these are but reflected lights. This "Great Old Meeting," as it was called, may be very plain and unattractive in the eyes of worshippers in Gothic cathedrals, but in ours it is beautiful and venerable, for it is full of the memorials of two centuries of church life, and within these walls the voices of Shepard, Hunt, Tingey, Doddridge, Gilbert, Hextall, Horsey, Hyatt, Bennett, Arnold, Oates, and now Cooper, have been heard as God's ministers; and the Spirit of God has made the Gospel preached by them His power unto salvation, so that His church has never lacked a real succession.

Note.—Marriages and the burial of the dead except by clergymen were prohibited till a later day.

We avail ourselves of Dr. C. Stanford's description of this old chapel before any of its alterations or additions, derived from the accounts of two men—one, Master Love, of Harpole, very aged, and the other young. "Using the reminiscences furnished by these humble men, let us try to see the place at the time touched by this biography. Beautiful as it was in their eyes, it certainly had a look of quiet respectable ugliness that might have defied competition, for it seemed to have been reared by a believer in the rule—'He who was born in a manger should be preached in a barn.' It stood in the midst of green graves and sculptured stones which time had powdered, with orange and silver elms and Scotch firs shadowing it. On the walls were memorial tablets; a little pent roof shelved over each door; all the windows above and below were shuttered outside—a precaution which ancient mobs made needful—and in front over one of them was a sun-dial, with the motto—'*Post est occasio calva*, 1695.' Once Dr. Doddridge's clerk being late is said to have said—*dicitur dixisse*—'By *me* it wants five minutes, the dial must be a little too fast.'"

Now note the interior—space for about seven hundred persons—roof propped by two great wooden pillars, one a little bandy—the "Jachin" and "Boaz" of this temple; white galleries, clumsy white pulpit, a great sounding board over it. Right and left of it, glazed with small grey-green panes, two tall windows of the lattice kind, which Master Love remembered to have been taken out when Whitfield preached that he might be heard outside. Straight before the pulpit a long massive communion table, at each side of which the students sat; and

over this table on a chain a mighty brass-branched candlestick, that dangled from the rafters. All the pews near the walls were deep and square, of the kind that suggested Milton's comparison of the people in them to sheep in the pens at Smithfield. (Works vol. iii. p. 366.) There were no lobbies. You went up the gallery steps in the sight of all Israel; and the doors opened right into the graveyard, grassy, still, and peaceful. Within and without everything was marked by stark plainness—partly because the founders had no wealth to spare, but also from their sense of reverence. The thought was—"How dreadful is this place, this is none other than the house of God! Who will presume to decorate it!"

Scant justice is done by Dr. Stanford to Nonconformists on the great simplicity of the chapel. They had neither the wealth nor the wish to imitate the stately churches of the Conformists. Fines and oppression had made them poor and humble. *Barns* had to be built till mansions took their places. The people must have given liberally to build Castle Hill. But it should not be overlooked that only 33 years had passed away since they were driven from their churches by the Act of Uniformity. Now that the Stuarts were gone better counsels may prevail in Church and State, and the way to return with the approval of God and conscience be made plain. In this light the chapels were like the tabernacles in the wilderness.

The nation had recently escaped from restored Catholicism, and it was therefore foreign to their faith to construct a chancel with the furniture, symbols, and suggestives to sacerdotalism. The primitive church, that worshipped in upper rooms, or later on when permitted in basilicas, was their model, and therefore they purposely excluded the additions of other times.

There was a *pulpit* for reading and preaching the divine word and for prayer.

A *precentor's seat* who recited and led the service of song.

A *table* for a feast of love; and not an altar prepared for a sacrifice—a supper—the Lord's Supper at which a minister and not a priest presided, and around which the church assembled as a family of the free sons and daughters of their Lord and Saviour to remember in faith and love, Him who "died once for all when he offered up himself," by eating bread and drinking wine as he commanded, or as Doddridge sings:

> "Hail! sacred feast, which Jesus makes!
> Rich banquet of His flesh and blood:
> Thrice happy he who here partakes
> That sacred stream, that heavenly food."

But to him they are only *emblems* that assist him to look by faith on His cross and passion—as in the third stanza.

Yet, there is an offering and a sacrifice, but not atoning, as it is admirably expressed in the Post Communion Service. "And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, *ourselves*, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee, humbly beseeching Thee that all who are partakers of this Holy Communion may be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction" (see Rom. xii. 1). All true believers are priests "who offer up spiritual sacrifices" of praise and thanksgiving.

This is the manner and the faith in which two hundred years ago the first communion service was celebrated at Castle Hill. That company passed forward in due time to worship in the celestial temple. Generation after generation has followed, and we now celebrate the Lord's Supper in the same manner. Men come and go and the old gives place to the new, but Jesus is the same, and His atoning sacrifice the same, and its memorial the same, and the faith by which believers, feed on it in their hearts, the same.

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

For which Baxter in vain pleaded before the Commissioners of Charles II., "or the teaching of scripture in the primitive rule and simplicity; the liberty of conscience to believe and teach as scripture and reason do allow" was accorded by the laws and guaranteed to every citizen, with the liberty to build and possess chapels for the worship of God.

But liberty of conscience meant more than Christian liberty to preach and worship God. This was only a branch of the tree whose roots are in the Author of our being. He forms us His sons, imparts His own liberty in understanding, self-knowledge, power to choose the good and refuse the evil, and in the love that binds us to Him and one another. The Nonconformists were heroes contending for this liberty; they came off victors, and thus made the world their debtors. Our hearts throb in sympathy with theirs, and we are more than grateful for the splendid inheritance they have left us.

Baxter, Bates, Owen, and the other great Puritan leaders had passed away. A new generation were above the horizon rising into their places, of whom Crompton, Heywood's nephew, says "God is raising up new ones to fill up the room and places of those more experienced ones that are gone, God Almighty make us faithful in our Master's work and glory and the good of souls as they! Calamy, Clarke, Reyonds, Robinson, T. Bradbury,

and Isaac Watts led the new train. God never forgets the wants of His church."

THE REV. JOHN HUNT.

At this time the Rev. John Hunt's ministry began at Northampton. The following entry is found in the Church Book—"1698, Feb. 25. The church did then consent to call Mr. John Hunt to be their pastor, which call he embraced, and at that time entered upon the pastoral charge." His father, as one of the 2,000, was ejected, on our St. Bartholomew's day, from the living of Sutton, Cambridgeshire. Mr. Hunt came from Royston to Northampton. He suited the people better than Mr. Shepard, for he was endowed with considerable talents, well versed in the scriptures, in the controversies of the age, and very zealous for the truth. He was a strong man, and not unconscious of his strength, for he spared no form of error that threatened the faith of his people. Controversies that had been silenced for a time now burst out with greater license, and the church was vexed with bitter disputes between supralapsarians and sublapsarians, Calvinists and Armenians, pædo Baptists and adult Baptists. Mr. Hunt spared nothing he concluded erroneous or likely to taint the faith of his people. He was mentally inclined to controversy. The logical more than the emotional ruled his powers. Yet church life does not flourish under such a ministry. When truth is shaped into problems, and demonstrated like Euclid's, it may convince and gratify a class, but converts and edifies few. In his little work on "Infants' Faith," he writes this of himself, after alluding to the errors with which the county was generally affected, and limiting the end of his book to the extent of his church, he continues—"And could no other reason be given but this, I think it may excuse me; for since God hath set me a watchman over this flock I think myself bound—as ever I hope to give up my account with joy—to take all the care of them I can, and do my utmost to reduce such as are wandering, and to establish such as are wavering; and to keep the plague out of their head as well as their hands from being defiled; judging a blind eye rather than a lame foot. Errors in judgment are like to be an inlet into continual errors in practice."

Here is a minister of strong convictions, of great loyalty to them, and a profound sense of his responsibility as a pastor to instruct and guide his people. However, his hard logic and sharp reproofs were for his opponents; his smiles and winning words for his friends, to lure them on in the heavenly life. Here is an instance from his little book "Vindiciæ Veræ

Pietatis; or an Evangelical Sanctification truly Stated and Vindicated"—"But though we cannot equal God—in holiness—yet, seeing our sanctification has some resemblance of Him, it is greatly to be esteemed and desired on this account the liker God we are, the more happy and blessed we are, as every step we take from Him makes us more miserable, as the liker to Him the more honourable." "No less doth the happiness of all the saints above consist in their likeness to God; their seeing God, and being made like to God, is a heaven to them indeed; and so much as we have of these, so much we have of heaven upon earth. Neither the blessed work, nor company of God, nor angels, would afford them the least pleasure if their likeness to God was lost." Hence the happiness of the world to come is clearly set forth in 1 John iii. 2, "But we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Made like Him is put before seeing Him to show how little the latter would be without that, &c. Antinomianism has no place here. It is "the faith that worketh by love," and love is the law as well as its keeping. This doctrine never grows old.

It reveals the man "whose life is hid with Christ in God," and whose aspirations are ever after the best and purest. Mr. Hunt was a true minister of the word. His little work on "The doctrine of God's eternal decrees," reveals the too common tendency of high Calvinism to attenuate free agency to the utmost, that God's sovereignty may be the more exalted to the exclusion of the very shadow of human merit. Whatever was not Calvinistic must be anti-christian. At present, however, the pendulum has almost touched the other extremity of the arc, and there is quite as much danger of over-estimating human capabilities at the expense of divine grace, as there was of degrading them into a mere mechanism destitute of moral responsibility, and discreditable to their Creator. The full teaching of revelation provides the adjustment of this seeming antithesis. Its theological solution is and must remain incomplete till all its facts and principles are revealed. Be it ours humbly to wait for the full light, which God will pour upon a perfected nature. "God is His own interpreter, and he will make it plain."

Though Mr. Hunt's little volumes excited considerable attention they did not escape criticism. "The Rev. Joseph Hussey, of Cambridge, a Congregational minister, thinks himself bound to expose the notorious errors in the writings of Mr. John Hunt, of Northampton, and many other writers, preachers, and professors of the gospel," and more severely "who, instead of increasing on the foundation, at this day have shamefully cast

off the first faith." This is done in a goodly quarto of a thousand pages. His demolition of real or imaginary errors is unsparing. Mr. Hunt's are rather surmised than exposed, and we drop its perusal, for it is unprofitable reading and makes us sad for the grievous loss of time and toil which might have been better employed.

Mr. Hunt was vexed with the Baptist controversy. The zeal of Mr. Moore was making inroads on his congregation. In the church book the converts are described as "Rent offe to Mr. Moore." Happily this was only for a time. In the end it failed to divide those whom persecution united and taught to love as brethren. We have already noticed the founding of the Baptist Church that still assembles in College Street Chapel, and like that of Bunyan at Bedford refuses to allow the time or manner of baptism to divide the brethren of the Lord at His own table. But on this, as on many other like questions, time and charity have wrought great changes. Infant or adult baptism, aspersion or total immersion, have in many churches ceased to be terms of communion, and are left very much to the free determination of those who have studied for themselves the teaching of scripture on the subject.

Mr. Hunt's ministry was not confined to Castle Hill. The villages excited his interest. He preached the gospel in them, and did his part in founding the churches which provide for the spiritual wants of those who cannot conform to the established church.

ELDERS DISCONTINUED.

In the original constitution of the church at Castle Hill *ruling elders* as well as deacons had taken part in the ministry. These elders assisted the pastor in his duties, but for reasons called weighty, but not stated, they ceased to act. On May 7th, 1707, the following resolution was passed at a church meeting :

"It was agreed upon by the whole church assembled at a public church meeting for weighty reasons that for the time to come the church shall be governed without ruling elders."

Ruling elders was a Presbyterian institution. They were more numerous than Independents "at the preaching houses," and hence continued to retain elders under Mr. Blower's ministry, but in Mr. Hunt's time either the Independents had become more numerous, or it was no longer thought necessary to retain them. The latter seems more likely, as "the whole church" agreed upon their discontinuance.

Mr. Hunt's ministry at Castle Hill closed in 1709, having continued for eleven years. One hundred members were added to the church by his labours. He died at Tunstead, in Norfolk, in 1730. He was a faithful and devoted minister of Jesus Christ.

LX.—The Lord's Supper.

1 "Sweet Feast of Love, with God above,
A banquet that is richly stor'd;
Nothing our hungry souls can want,
But this in plenty doth afford.
Here's Heavenly Manna dropping down,
Food fit for Angels, could they eat:
O! how it cheers my drooping soul
When I in faith can taste this Meat!

2 Lord, give me now a lively sense
Of Thy most dear and dying love;
Do Thou me comfort, and revive
With Thy free Spirit from above.
Yea, help me, Lord, that I may live
To Thee, from whom my Life I have;
And so continue whilst that I
Remain on this side of the grave.

3 Let no temptations draw away
My soul from Him to whom it's due,
But let me always cleave to Him
That holy is and ever true.
My vows, Lord, help me to perform,
Which now my soul to Thee hath made:
While that I may, in Thee I'll trust,
And in Thy seasonable aid."

The Rev. Mr. Hunt published a volume of Hymns, of which the above is a specimen. In comparison with Doddridge's they are far inferior as poetry in grace and rhythm, but they set forth the essential doctrines of our religion with great earnestness.

POLITICAL CHANGES.

From the time of Mr. Hunt's departure, in 1709, till the close of Mr. Tingey's ministry, in 1729, the phases of our social and political life were neither so changeful nor so memorable as in the preceding periods. Progress, real and abiding, was made, not by sudden leaps and starts, but by persevering industry. Peace, security, and leisure had been longed for by the nation to consolidate the liberties it had dearly purchased. Marl-

borough and his Whig followers were ardent supporters of the policy and prosecution of the Continental wars, which King William had boldly and successfully initiated. But the people were not dazzled by the glories of Minden or of Ramilies. Men and money were lavished away from home on ends and objects of which little was known by the many, and with which they had little sympathy. Enough for them if the Channel was clear, and the ports open that commerce might flourish securely. Money was wanted at home. Marlborough's fall in 1710, his trial by the House of Commons and condemnation for peculation, with the loss of office by the Whigs were the consequences. "A great constitutional revolution which had been silently growing up since the time of the Stuarts was thus consummated." For the defeat of the Peers and the fall of Marlborough announced, that political power was gradually transferred to the House of Commons. "Ever since, the Ministers of the Crown have remained an executive committee whose work is to carry the will of the majority of its members." This is expressed too absolutely. Truth is often indebted to minorities. Now was the advent of the succession of great commoners who have ruled England. "Walpole was the minister"—it has been said—"who gave our government that character for lenity which it has since generally deserved." He was true to revolution principles, and carried them out with rare fidelity. The Treaty of Utrecht, in which he was a principal actor, put an end for a season to Continental wars. The Tories, who were opposed to the war, not from principle but because it darkened the prospects of the Stuarts, were in office. The Nonjurors, or those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William, and the Jacobites, or those who held that James was their rightful King, were numerous and active. The Queen's failing health and the unsettled state of the succession led to cabals and intrigues. Constant correspondence was kept up with St. Germains. The ministry, to secure the support of the church, in which their party was strong, pushed

THE SCHISM ACT

through Parliament. This Act prohibited Dissenters from being schoolmasters or tutors. Their suppression as educators of a Nonconformist ministry, was intended, and with them the extinction of dissent would follow. Had the succession to the crown reverted to the Stuarts it would have led to still more repressive measures, but their Schism Act was strangely frustrated by the death of the Queen. On his way to chapel, the Rev. Mr. Bradbury heard from a friend whom he met that her death

was imminent; a signal of the event was agreed upon between them. It took place in the service; Mr. Bradbury saw the signal, and, pausing, proclaimed George I. our King. But the friends of the House of Brunswick, who had been as active in their preparations as the Tories, immediately proclaimed George I. on August 1st, 1714, as her successor, called the army together to their support, and adopted such other energetic measures as to render resistance hopeless. "The Tory party is gone," exclaimed Bolingbroke. The landed gentry, many of the clergy, and the trading classes, being still true to the principles of the Revolution, on the discovery of the Jacobite Plots, were alienated from them. At York, on the King's succession, the mob cried out, "Liberty, Property, and no Pretender." The Whigs were now supreme, and only representatives of religious toleration and constitutional liberty. The nation was with them, and the Townshend administration, with Walpole as First Lord of the Treasury, was the first of the series of Whig ministries which ruled England for half-a-century, and of whom Mr. Green well says, "They owed it not to the ability of their leaders and the politic organization of their forces, but to nobler qualities." "They were true throughout to the principles on which they had risen into power, and their unbroken administration converted these principles into national habits." Stability took the place of change, and this nation escaped the sad revolutions of France. "Before fifty years of their rule had passed, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for differences of religion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a parliament." But they were not reformers; their policy was more conservative than liberal. The church was not disturbed. Nonconformists were not persecuted, but they were not favoured, and war was avoided. "Progress was material more than political, but the material was such as England had never seen before." The Jacobite revolt, soon suppressed, only helped to confirm the rule of the Whigs. In 1716 Townshend and Stanhope resigned, and were succeeded by Lord Stanhope, by whose aid the Whigs repealed the *Schism* and *Occasional Conformity Acts.* This was the first instalment of redress, and though the remaining were long delayed their times arrived, till at present little stands between us and complete religious equality.

THE REV. THOMAS TINGEY'S MINISTRY.

Of Mr. Tingey's parentage, birth, and early history, little is known. His academic studies were pursued under the Rev.

Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, Cromwell's intimate friend, and the author of many admired theological works. Mr. Tingey's education for the ministry was first in England and afterwards in Holland. When an evening lectureship was founded in Exchange Alley, London, he was one of the four lecturers. Soon after he was chosen assistant minister of the church in Fetter Lane, from which he afterwards removed to Pinner, in Middlesex. There, like Doddridge, in addition to his ministry, he conducted an academy for the education of young ministers.

He commenced his ministry at Newport Pagnell about the year 1700. In the next year he removed to Castle Hill, and his ordination was held on the 2nd of February, 1709. The following is from the Church Book: "This church having before invited and called the Rev. Mr. Thos. Tingey to take upon him the pastorall care of their souls, and after the removal of the Rev. Mr. John Hunt brought the said Rev. Mr. Thomas Tingey and his family to Northampton, did after diverse repeated calls and days and times of seeking God, the day above-written, solemnly and unanimously renew their call, at which time the said Rev. Mr. Thomas Tingey gave his acceptance thereof, together with the reasons of it, and was solemnly ordained unto the pastoral office and charge of this church of Christ."

The following ministers were present: Revs. John King, of Wellingborough; David Some, of Harborough; John Norris, of Welford; John Ironmonger, of Buckingham; J. Jackson, of Buckby; John Mason, of Spaldwick; John Mills, about to settle at Kettering; and the Rev. Mr. Dale, of Creaton.

Gladly do we avail ourselves of a clear account of himself and his ministry appended to his funeral sermon, preached at Fetter Lane Chapel, November, 1729, by his friend, Dr. Ridgley, a well-known London minister, and principal of an academy for the education of ministers. In February of the same year, Mr. Tingey had removed from Northampton to Fetter Lane, and therefore his stay with this church was very short, but long enough to win the esteem and affection of the congregation.

Ordination at Fetter Lane.—The "Northampton Mercury" has the following account of his recognition, as we now call it, on March 6th, 1728-29. "Yesterday, one Mr. Tingey, a noted Independent preacher from Northampton, was ordained at the Meeting House, Fetter Lane (late Mr. Bradbury's) by Dr. Calamy, Dr. Watts, Mr. Brice, and others, according to the custom of people of that persuasion, who allow of no ordination but to a particular congregation." Northampton, March 10th, 1729.

Dr. Ridgley's text was Phil. iii. 9, selected, no doubt, because the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ's *imputed righteousness* was what Mr. Tingey had much insisted upon; and having discoursed at considerable length on this theme, he concluded with some references to Mr. Tingey himself. It will be remembered that the Rev. James Hervey, of Weston Favel, had written his "Theron and Aspasia" in order to defend and establish this doctrine.

Early ministry, character, and endowments.—Having observed that ministers ought so to behave themselves in the discharge of their ministerial work, that when Christ calls them hence they may be prepared to obey the summons as being found in Him, he tells of a thirty years' knowledge of their pastor; whom he always esteemed and valued, and with whom he had a particular intimacy from his preparatory studies for the ministry. That though he did not settle in any one place, "through the evenness of his temper and the inoffensiveness of his behaviour, he gained respect even from those who were in a different way of thinking from himself." This, in addition to his other endowments, rendered him well qualified for usefulness, and "a great blessing from God attending his labours, gave him a great interest in the affections of those who sat under his ministry, or directly under his pastoral care."

Zeal for the salvation of souls.—"His method of preaching was formerly, as well as of late, such as to give his hearers good reason to conclude that his heart was in his work, and that it was not a light matter to him whether he did good in the course of his ministry or evil. You are all witnesses with what a flow of affection, with what earnestness he spake of divine matters and how he always chose to insist on the most solemn subjects, his great design being to advance the Mediator's glory. He insisted much on justification by Christ's imputed righteousness, knowing that hereby a person may be enabled to live safely and die comfortably. It was much in his heart in his last illness, and he adhered to it till the end." It was the practical experience hereof that occasioned him to say, when he apprehended himself to be struck with death, "that his Master was now about to call him from his work," which he expressed with the greatest composure and resignation to the divine will."

"His stay was short but a great blessing to many. The Holy Ghost bore witness to His word as ministered by Mr. Tingey.

"His health was impaired by labours beyond his strength. He was as ready to preach the gospel as often as he found a company of hearers, and I am apt to think," says Dr. Ridgley,

"that his constitution was broke by that means before he came among you.

His affection for the young.—"He cared for the young, preached to them, and taught them lovingly. Many of them found the Saviour through his teaching.

His ministry at Fetter Lane.—"'Tis amazing to consider what double, yea, I may say triple service he went through besides his labours on other days. I believe you are all witnesses that whenever he came to minister unto you it was a great pleasure to him to be found engaged in his Lord's work; so that the great disposer of all things enabled him to fulfil his ministry and then gave him his discharge."

However, his sympathies were not confined to the towns in which he resided. He succeeded Hunt and Davis, while he anticipated Doddridge in being a village evangelist.

VILLAGE PREACHING.

The zeal, self-denial, and love of souls required by this ministry must be of a high order. In Tingey's days the roads were bad, and in some places almost impassable, for they were seldom repaired. Bridges did not always bind the streams, but they were left open to cross the roads. Stepping stones were in some places provided for foot passengers. Conveyance other than a carrier's van or farmer's cart returning from market was rarely available. All this had to be encountered by most, after a laborious week at some trade or business whatever might be the state of the weather, but to meet with brethren and to minister to those, who were hungry for the bread of life, was their joy and their reward. Some of these preachers were unlettered, plain of speech, yet strong in the common sense of Anglo-Saxons, with a pith and raciness of expression like our departed brother Fox, that secured the attention and interest of all who heard. They knew their bible, knew it was true, and preached the gospel with such force and unction that many believed and and more were edified. Simple in their manners and free in the utterance of their emotions, the people were lavish in expressing their gratitude and admiration.

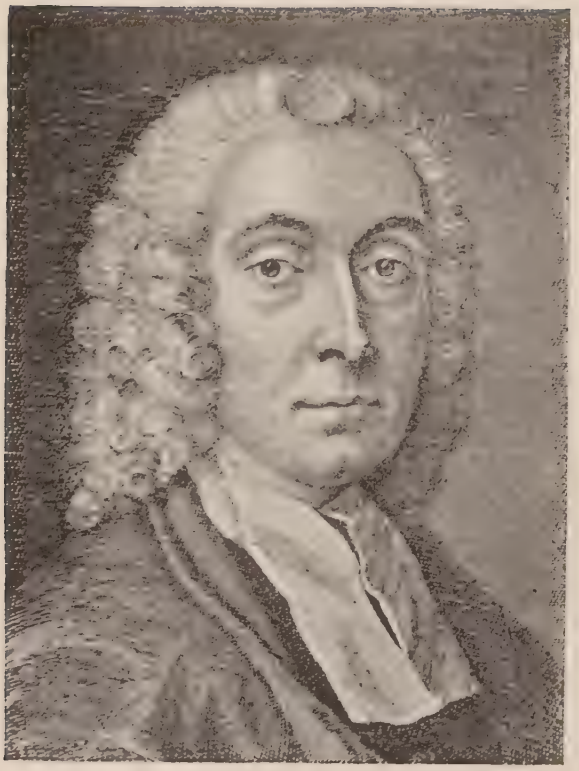
Hospitality was not neglected. The best the house could furnish was placed upon the table, more frequently by the mistress herself than her maid, and invitations to spare not were oft repeated. Thus the little hour after the service was spent at the table and at the fireside in glad fellowship. The whole family and a neighbour or two were there, and shared in the feast of reason and the flow of soul. Town and country met there. Stirring anecdotes were told, the state of religion in

the town churches discussed, followed by knotty questions in theology, but more frequently close heart-touching conversation on the trials and sorrows of life, the consolations of religion, with counsels of perfection from the divinely taught. It was a feast for the strong, and a banquet for the aged and feeble, who knew that the remainder of the journey could not be long—things to remember and talk over for the week. These were the ministrations that rooted our blessed religion in the hearts and affections of the villagers. Clerical awe did not "freeze the genial current of the soul." They were brethren and conversed with fearless freedom, yet not without the respect bred of discovered excellence and higher attainments in knowledge and goodness. Sometimes things were not so bright or satisfactory, but the circumstances of the family could account for all. Time flies and the preacher must depart to his home, for there are waiters and anxious watchers for his return, if the weather was such as we have experienced this winter. But if it is fine, and the silvery moon is playing hide-and-seek with the fleecy clouds, the pleasures of the walk with a long convoy and more talk, are great indeed.

The records of such labours are few, and the names of the preachers are seldom seen, except in the printed list of supplies, but the services they have rendered in all the free churches cannot be reckoned up in the sum total of real church work. We know that the village churches have been big with blessing to the town and the world. Carey was a member of one of them. Here also many of the men have been born and bred who have made England what it is on land and sea, by enterprise and success. Here the Nonconformist grit, "the village Hampdens that, with dauntless breast the little tyrant of their fields withstood," or who, passing into our towns, devoted their energies to the revival of church life, for they brought with them great faith, and the manly vigour that grows from contact with mother earth, pure air, and bright light of the sun.

Mr. Tingey was not only such a village preacher, but fostered the work among his people. Members of the church at Castle Hill were residents in the villages. He visited them occasionally, but, as he could not frequently repeat these visits, the preacher brought him information about their state, so that he could see the sick and afflicted.

Dr. Ridgley concluded his discourse with suitable references to Mrs. Tingey and their family. "Great was their loss, but their affliction was sanctified and lessened by his example. He had wept with them and prayed for them, and was heard. He



Dr. DODDRIDGE.

died rejoicing in the *Lord his righteousness.*" Castle Hill had enjoyed his ministry twenty years, and it was a real preparation for his successor. He educated them to discern Doddridge, the man of God.

The following was published in the "London Post":—"The same day, Thursday, in the evening, the corpse of the Rev. Mr. Tingey was carried from his late dwelling-house, in Bangor Court, Shoe Lane, in great funeral pomp and solemnity, and interred in the Dissenting burying-ground at Bunhill Fields." November 10th, 1729.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D.

Dum vivimus viviamus.

This is the motto on the Doddridge family crest, which he expanded and versified in the following epigram, pronounced by Dr. S. Johnson to be the finest in the language.

> "Live while you live, the epicure would say,
> And seize the pleasures of the passing day;
> Live while you live, the sacred preacher cries,
> And give to God each moment as it flies;
> Lord, in my views let both united be,
> I live in pleasure when I live to Thee."

On his father's side Dr. Doddridge was descended from a distinguished old English stock, some of whom had risen to distinction in the church and others at the bar. "The family was of Saxon origin, which the name, properly spelt Doderidge, would imply." Its home was in Devonshire. Prince, the author of the worthies of Devon, says that the domain of Doderidge, in the parish of Crediton, had long since lords so called. Richard Doddridge, an eminent merchant at Barnstaple, was the first figure of the family group, and best known by the benefits he conferred on the place. He married Joan Badcock, a lady of South Maldon, who bore him several children. One of these, John, was educated at Oxford, "where he obtained the reputation of a severe student and a noted disputant." His solid learning, aided by good natural parts, rendered him "so eminent not only in his own profession but in the arts, divinity, and civil law, that it was difficult to judge in which of all these faculties he most excelled." He was raised to the Bench, but publishing views on the king's prerogative, "in which he considered the royal power as a limited delegation of the divine," he was suspected, and afterwards cited before the House of Lords with Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Justice

Jones, and Mr. Justice Whitlock, for denying the privilege of bail to five gentlemen who had refused an arbitrary loan which had recently been demanded by the Crown. But the Lords by their acquittal vindicated the sanctity of our free constitution. He died without issue, and his estates devolved to his brother, Peter Pentecost Doddridge, a wealthy merchant, who married a lady named Westcomb. Four children were born to them, one of these—John—became celebrated as a lawyer, and noted at Barnstaple. He sat in the Long Parliament, displeased the Independents, but escaped from their hands. He was a pious man, and the friend of Dr. E. Calamy, Master Bates, and Master James Naston, eminent Puritans to whom he left legacies. It was said he much resembled Sir John Doddridge, but died childless, and the family estates were principally divided amongst his two surviving sisters and the children of one deceased. To his cousin, the Rev. John Doddridge, holding the living of Shepperton, Middlesex, he left a legacy. He became the representative of the family, but being a Puritan he was ejected with the two thousand in 1662. Of him Calamy says, "He was an ingenious man, a scholar, and an acceptable preacher."

His eldest son Daniel married Miss Bauman, only daughter of a Bohemian refugee, whose history is deeply interesting and no doubt contributed largely to Dr. Doddridge's early religious tendencies. The Rev. John Bauman was a native of Prague, and educated at its University. He was a Protestant or Hussite, and believed the gospel for which he was called upon to suffer. The persecution which followed the expulsion of Frederic, Elector Palatine, left him no alternative but either to abjure his faith or emigrate to a free state. He decided on the latter, for he loved the truth and Christian liberty; he therefore sold his property when he came of age, bade farewell to his friends, and disguised as a peasant with one hundred broad pieces of gold concealed in a leather girdle, and a copy of Luther's Bible in two volumes in a parcel, set out for Saxony. He spent the night at an obscure inn, but in the morning forgot to buckle on his belt, and did not discover his loss till he had put up at another place of refuge in the evening. His change was spent and nothing remained to pay his lodgings. At once he returned, though faint and weary, to the resting place of the previous night, where he learned from a female servant that she had observed the belt, but from its worn out appearance thought it of no value and threw it away. Offering her a reward for its recovery, she searched for it and found it in a recess under the staircase into which useless

articles were usually thrown. Rejoicing in its recovery he pursued his flight with a thankful heart. He spent some time at Gotha and in the adjoining states and then made his way to England about 1646, bearing many testimonials from the principal German divines. He was well received, excited interest, and through the influence of his new friends, was appointed to the mastership of the Grammar or Free School at Kingston-upon-Thames. Here he found a peaceful employment, married, and died about 1668, leaving one daughter of a tender age. When grown of age she attracted the attention and won the love of Mr. Daniel Doddridge. This is the third link of the golden chain that unites Northampton and Lutterworth.

Their union was prolific, but of the *twenty* children to whom she gave birth only two survived, a daughter and an infant son. At first he appeared stillborn, but soon after, one of the servants looking sharply at him perceived that he lived from the feeble heaving of his chest. She took charge of him, nursed and cherished him so well that his voice was soon heard. Philip lived as if by accident, but really by the Lord's interposition, for he was chosen to a noble service. They called him Philip, after his uncle. Having lost all their sons except this, on him they would lavish all their love and tenderest care, that he might live for their comfort and the glory of God. Both were devout Christians, and attentive to the religious education of their children. Doddridge himself tells us, in a letter to Mr. Wilbraham, how much was done for him in this respect. "I was brought up in the early knowledge of religion by my pious parents, who in their character were very worthy of their birth and education. I well remember that my mother taught me the history of the Old and New Testaments, before I could read, by the assistance of some blue Dutch tiles in the chimney place of the room where we commonly sat; and the wise and pious reflections she made upon these stories were the means of enforcing such good impressions on my heart as never wore out." The story is, no doubt, trite to some, yet it has been purposely repeated, for, if "the child is father of the man," there is much more in it of what made the future Dr. Doddridge than at first appears.

His mother was the daughter of Bauman, the refugee Bohemian Protestant, and though he died while she was still of tender age, yet old enough to hear and learn his account of what he and others had to suffer for faithfulness to their convictions, and how he had been sustained by the truths and promises he found in the Bible. There it lay in a conspicuous place, to deepen the impression. All this his mother repeated,

and, with glowing looks, spoke of his grandfather's unfeigned faith when, a solitary pilgrim, he escaped from "the City of Destruction," and was led by an unseen guide to Kingston-on-Thames, where a home and a profession were waiting for him, and where she was born and spent her early years.

His father would also tell of the happy times they had spent when grandfather Doddridge—a faithful and beloved pastor—held the vicarage at Shepperton; of the passing of the Act of Uniformity; the conflict of duty and the triumph of faith, when they departed from their beautiful home into a hostile world, in which poverty, dangers, and difficulties awaited them. Yet, how they were never forsaken—often wonderfully provided for. On both hands it was a record of facts, told with the emotions that provided for their reception in memory's safest keeping. Such domestic conditions account for much. Happy son to have such parents, and happy parents to have such a son! Thus the story of how Doddridge learned Scripture history is of deeper import, for they were after all only the texts on which Mrs. Doddridge added the "wise and pious reflections" that illuminated them, and we are, therefore, led back to the conversion of the Bohemian grandfather through the works of Wycliffe preached by Huss and Jerome. Our short account of the manner in which John Wesley was led into the conscious possession of salvation by the teaching of Peter Bohler and Bishop Spangenberg, with what it became in his heart and mission, proves that these Bohemians had apprehended and personally applied Gospel truth, so that all doubt was cast out, and what by many is believed as a general fact and doctrine was for them direct and special. This, the fourth link of the golden chain that unites Northampton to Lutterworth.

Doddridge was therefore favoured with two of God's greatest gifts, in having pious parents and Christian nurture. Though the heirship in God's family is not hereditary, but immediately of Himself, yet the promises given to parents who bring up their children well are so numerous and so often fulfilled in their salvation, as to encourage others to bring them up with the same assurance. The home of Doddridge was like that of Timothy. From a child he also knew the Holy Scriptures. The Bohemian like the Moravian brethren made the "love of Jesus" their leading doctrine in the instruction of their children, for their persuasion was that did they but know and feel this sure foundation of the Christian life, the happiness was enjoyed which made sinful pleasures poor and worthless. This is the formative spiritual power that moulds the nature into his image and rejects all that is alien to itself.

In addition to home tuition he had other masters to whom he was much indebted, as Mr. Daniel May, son of the vicar of Kingston, one of the ejected, and Dr. Nathaniel Wood, a Nonconformist minister, residing at a village near St. Albans, under whose wise tuition he acquired the habit for which he was himself so distinguished in after life, of working *methodically*, *exactly*, and *instantly* at whatever he aimed to do, and at finding that he had recreation in change from one work to another. Such habits so early formed were of immense value in his own life work. They regulate and control the mental forces without cramping them, and enable their possessor to concentrate them on the work he designs. Without them genius produces only spasmodic flashes. The toil of their acquisition may at first be irksome to a youth, but he is infinitely rewarded if he perseveres till they are acquired.

The death of his father when he was only thirteen, and probably soon after that of his mother, left him an orphan in July, 1715.

Coming so closely in succession his sorrows were very great, yet soon alleviated, for he was constitutionally of a buoyant, joyous temperament, and as open to the consoling as to the sadder aspects of life. Hence he writes in his journal: "God is an immortal Father. My soul rejoiceth in Him. He hath hitherto helped me and provided for me. May it be my study to approve myself a more affectionate, grateful, and dutiful child." The orphan was not left friendless. The Lord came to him and provided for him. At first he was sorely tried by one called Downes, a self-appointed guardian, who soon squandered away his little fortune in losing speculations. Yet, to get him out of prison, Philip sold all his family plate, and thus returned him good for evil. But he had a true friend in the Rev. Mr. Clarke, pastor of the Congregational church, to whom Mr. Wood had introduced him at St. Albans, who at first aided him much by his kind directions, and afterwards received him into church fellowship.

Doddridge's own account of his first communion after his admission to the church is characteristic. "I rose early this morning and read that part of Mr. Henry's book on the Lord's Supper which treats of a due approach to it, I endeavoured to excite in myself those dispositions and affections which he mentions as proper for that ordinance. As I endeavoured to prepare my heart, *according to the preparation for the sanctuary*, though with many defects, God was pleased to meet me, and to give me sweet communion with Himself, of which I desire always to retain a grateful sense. I this day, in the strength

of Christ, renewed my covenant with God and renounced my covenant with sin. The Lord keep this in the imagination of my heart, and grant that I may not deal treacherously with Him."

Though we have no evidence that this well-known hymn was written at the time, yet the remembrance of his own admission must have supplied the inspiring facts.

1. "O, happy day, that fixed my choice
On Thee, my Saviour and my God;
Well may this glowing heart rejoice
And tell its raptures all abroad.

2. Oh, happy bond that seals my vows
To Him who merits all my love;
Let cheerful anthems fill His house,
While to that sacred shrine I move.

3. 'Tis done! the great transaction's done;
I am my Lord's and He is mine:
He drew me and I followed on,
Glad to confess the voice divine.

4. Now rest my long divided heart,
Fixed on this blissful centre rest;
With ashes who would grudge to part
When called on angels' bread to feast."

His sister Elizabeth had recently been married to the Rev. John Nettleship, who kept a school at Hampstead Heath. Their hearts made him welcome to their home, and he lived with them till he could decide on his profession. Soon they learned that his mind was set on the ministry of the gospel. When this desire first arose we have not learned. Probably years before he fully entertained it, in listening to some earnest preacher, or the voice came to him that once called "Samuel! Samuel!" but he knew it not till it was interpreted to him by another. "Then he knew that the Lord had called him to be His messenger." And he was not disobedient to the heavenly voice, but freely yielded himself to his holy calling. This was the primary act without which all that followed would have been human and mere profession.

Yet his faith and patience were much tried by having to wait till his way was made plain. The Duchess of Bedford, to whom his father had been steward, and with whose children he had often played, was interested in his affairs, and offered to educate him for the Church at one of the Universities. But he was

conscientiously a Nonconformist, and declined her generous offer. To be so near the greatest seat of learning, and have it in his power to enter it independently, must have been a sore temptation to an intense lover of knowledge. But he overcame it, and "was to his own self true." Upon the whole he honours conscience best who honours God most, for then he walks in the light that purifies conscience. Dr. Calamy, to whom he had communicated his wishes, either from lack of insight *into* or sympathy did not perceive Doddridge's true motives, or from undue haste in forming an estimate of his character and abilities, "advised him to turn his attention to something else." Calamy at the time was like a prophet to many of the people of God, but to Doddridge his message was evidently not inspired.

Then the law sued him in the person of Counsellor Eyre, who made him a handsome offer, but in vain, "for it was impossible for him to put his heart into any other vocation, but the Christian ministry." He was as troubled as if he had lost his way, or rather, as one who knows there is a right way but lacks a friend to show him where it is to be found. One morning he received a letter from his late pastor, Dr. Clarke, the substance of which was, "that if he continued in his strong resolution to be a minister, he was heartily welcome to live in his manse at St. Albans, when he would do his best to help him till he was introduced to some academy." "This," he writes, "I looked upon as almost an answer from God; and while I live I shall adore so seasonable an interposition of Divine Providence; I have sought God's direction in this matter, and I hope I have had it. My only view in my choice hath been that of more extensive service, and I beg God to make me an instrument of doing much good in the world." Why should he fear? No mistakes are made when God leads. Doddridge imagines that the ministry is the service in which it can alone be done, but before the end he is principal of a college, a writer of eminence, and a poet of the sanctuary. "The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord." No angel shows him where to place his feet, and yet he travels on without stumbling or erring from the right road.

At the end of several months' residence with Mr. Clarke, his admission is secured by him into the academy at Kibworth Harcourt, in October 1719, and he also makes himself responsible for his expenses. The manner in which this man of God becomes a helper and father to Doddridge in the time of his greatest need shows that God does not abandon his servants to either chance or fate.

KIBWORTH.

Kibworth is made up of twin villages—Kibworth Beauchamp and Kibworth Harcourt. A narrow valley separates them. The Harborough and Leicester line runs through this valley without adding to its beauty. Before the intrusion of the railway the view across the valley, over gardens, green slopes, copses, the winding road along the hillside, with substantial dwellings, the Academy and chapel behind, and church crowning the hill, must have been very pleasant. The large white house on the slope, near the present chapel, was once the Crown inn. So tradition says; but my friend, the Rev. E. Hipwood, the present pastor, has found enough to satisfy his mind that this was the Academy. The old chapel, in which Jennings and Doddridge preached, was long since burned down. The present, higher up and nearer the street, is modern in comparison.

Notwithstanding these changes, the village and neighbourhood are very interesting.

COLLEGE LIFE.

The Rev. John Jennings—brother of the Rev. David Jennings, author of "Jewish Antiquities"—was no ordinary tutor, for in addition to his classical learning, which was considerable, he was an accomplished theologian, an admirable preacher and an eminent Christian. Dr. Isaac Watts praised some of his sermons, and contributed a preface on their publication. Again, Dr. Watts says of him, "How wonderful and extraordinary a man was the late Mr. John Jennings! The little acquaintance I had with him made me esteem and love him; but my love and esteem were vastly too low for so sublime and elevated a character." Happy for Doddridge to have such a tutor! The student was capable of discovering and profiting by his wealth of classical and theological attainments, and of entering into the fellowship of his spirit in his sublime flights of theological speculation.

Here Doddridge found the open fountains, the divine science, the elevated heights into which a finely-attuned mind can rise with a kindred mind. Now, he could surrender himself to their fullest enjoyment! These academic years to most earnest students are the happiest of their lives. They are like dwelling with Elisha on Carmel. Daily they are conversing with some of the best and the wisest, and are stimulated to achieve still greater things. But great workers in the study or class-room are often great dreamers in the fields. The change is healthy from books in other tongues to the great volume of nature. Either in company or alone, the nearness, the grace, the infinite

variety, and inconceivable measures of Creation are felt and intensely enjoyed.

His days as a student were soon ended, but not his studies. Methods had been learned but were not yet applied. He was now a pastor, and had to prepare for the pulpit. The Congregational Church at Kibworth invited Doddridge to be their minister. They knew his worth and his promise, but they were aware of his humility, and that he had resolved to secure the greater leisure and the fewer interruptions that a small country pastorate would secure. They knew well that they could not long retain him, and therefore intimated their readiness to part with him when a large church set their hearts upon him and with whom he could be more useful. He therefore accepted the invitation, though his stipend would be only £35 a year. Writing to his brother-in-law, in December, 1723, he declines his suggested visit to London, where a larger church might invite him to be their minister. He says, "I acknowledge that a handsome salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, and the pleasure of being so near you and my friends at Hampstead, are considerable temptations; but you know they are not principally to be regarded in an affair of this nature. I am really convinced that I am likely to do more service in the world by spending a few years longer at Kibworth, where I have an opportunity of studying closely and improving myself in a plain, useful way of preaching, and where I have an abundance of friends and no enemies, than by venturing so young into that censorious, wrangling town, where I may meet with many snares, especially with regard to orthodoxy, which perhaps I may not have the prudence to avoid, and where if my reputation be once lost it may never be regained." Much is revealed in these confessions, but chiefly self-distrust, that restrains him from advancing into the thick of the fight before he had proved his armour. His people were scattered, and some of them lived at a distance that gave him long walks to visit them. But he was fully compensated in being able to construct his discourses for their edification. They knew that he had thought of them.

The death of Mr. Jennings, his tutor, was a great loss, for he not only had in him a very able teacher but a real friend. They had walked on high places and seen glorious things together. But they had to part at the entrance of the dark valley.

For lighter studies he turned to the poets of Greece and Rome, and afterwards to their philosophers and historians.

"The vision and the faculty divine" was also his, and he would indulge at times in its flowery delights. "Poetry," says S. T.

Coleridge, "is the blossom and the fragrance of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, and language."—B. L.

About this time he planned his Family Expositor, for which he afterwards collected the materials in his academic prelections on the Greek and Hebrew texts of Scripture.

During all his residence with Mr. Jennings, Dr. Clarke, at St. Albans, who had proved a Father to him, did much for his comfort by helping him to meet his pecuniary expenses, by wise advice in the conduct of his studies, while he adds the warning and indicates the dangers to which as a young minister he would be most exposed. Thus the Saviour did not leave him an orphan, but came to him by the loving ministry of his faithful friend.

COUNTRY LIFE.

To Mrs. Clarke he describes life in the country, for Mrs. Jennings now requires the house for her own use and he had to find other lodgings. His first was at Stretton, a few miles from Kibworth. "You know I love a country life, and here we have it in perfection. I am roused in the morning by the chirping of sparrows, the cooing of pigeons, the lowing of kine, the bleating of sheep, and, to complete the concert, the grunting of swine and the neighing of horses. We have a mighty pleasant garden and orchard, and a fine arbour under some tall, shady limes, that form a kind of lofty dome, of which, as a native of the great city, you may perhaps catch a glimmering idea if I name the cupola of St. Paul's. And then, on the other side of the house, there is a large space which we call a wilderness, and which, I fancy, would please you extremely. The ground is a dainty greensward, a brook runs sparkling through the middle, and there are two large fishponds at one end; both the ponds and the brook are surrounded with willows, and there are several shady walks under the trees, besides little knots of young willows interspersed at convenient distances. Here I generally spend the evening, and pay my respects to the setting sun, when the variety and beauty of the prospect inspire a pleasure I know not how to express." He is with Adam in Paradise, and it is his only misfortune that he wants an Eve, and has none but the birds of the air and the beasts of the field for his companions.

And it is almost literally true, for "I am frequently alone twenty-one hours in the twenty-four, and sometimes breakfast, dine, and sup by myself." The farmer is with his team and plough, and his wife with the poultry or in the dairy. As his

photograph contains no sympathetic friend, no congenial mind, he must at times have exclaimed with Selkirk, "Better dwell in the midst of alarms than reign in this horrible place."

He removed to Burton Ovary, a couple of miles from Kibworth, where he finds more congenial society, and permits this description in a letter to his brother-in-law, "I hardly ever lived more agreeably in my life than I do here at Burton. I have some good books above stairs, a charming and a kind mistress below, and, when I have a mind to go abroad, a good horse at command, with abundance of friends all round the country, that rather excel than fail in their expressions of love and esteem. I shall not, therefore, be in haste to leave them till I have a prospect of a commodious settlement for life." Cor., vol. i. p. 317.

The house at Burton Ovary, a couple of miles or so from Kibworth, on the Leicester Road, is substantial and well-built. It is back from the road. A well-kept quickset hedge in front encloses beds for flowers. The house is single-storied, with enough good-sized mullioned windows to admit plenty of light. The door, seemingly of oak, is large and massive, with a lock and key fit for a prison. This opens directly into a large room, which at one time served for a kitchen and siting-room, but the old ingle, which was ample for a large family, is now concealed by a wardrobe, which makes the room a hall. But enough is apparent of what it must have been when a fine fire of wood crackled and hissed on the hearth and a number of friends had come in to hear the news, or perchance join in conversation with the young minister.

The room to the left was probably his study. Though low-ceiled, it was large enough for plenty of air, and to take a turn when he was excited by some fuller discovery of revealed truth or poetic fancy. Instead of being concealed with lath and plaster, the joists were exposed two-thirds of their depth, neatly dressed and beaded. Lath and plaster covered the intervening spaces. The large beam in the middle to strengthen the floor was dressed and beaded in the same manner. It is a fine instance of how the commonest materials may be made ornamental. The window at the opposite end added to the pleasantness of the apartment. It was semi-hexagonal, divided by stone mullions. Probably in Doddridge's time this was filled with lead diamonds, and the grey-green glass that discoloured the light it admitted. Now the panes are large, and of clear glass, that transmits the light as it falls. The recess made by this window would hold a table and a chair at which a student could pursue his studies. The view embraced a

garden with its shrubs and flowers, and a green lawn with a few trees at its foot. Beyond is a valley, partly grazed and partly cultivated, that leads up the opposite slope till it ends in a low wooded hill, where the light green of the meadow contrasts finely with the darker of the wood. Here was enough of beauty and variety to content a poetic taste; here he could mark the changing seasons, the variations of sunshine and cloudland; here he could follow the ever-changing light and shade when the moon is high, and the breeze carries the scampering clouds across her silvery disk; here we can imagine Doddridge rejoicing in the view, or musing on other things.

The apartment immediately above was probably Doddridge's bedroom, made neat and comfortable by his kind hostess. But some one will exclaim, "How could Doddridge be contented in such a rustic home?" None of the family had any knowledge of his higher studies. But to turn aside from these, and converse with them on the wants of the day, on the political and religious changes in parliament and the churches, brought him back to actual life and the duties he owes to society.

In things of greater moment the Nonconformists of those days were skilled to discuss a fine point of theology, or relate, as from the book, their experience of the full meaning of some inspired text that came to them in trouble as a message from the Father of mercies, and tasted a purer joy in their recital. In these days we have few of these divine exercises, but what? at least not much about our pilgrimage to the better land, but plenty about the pleasures of the day.

They were readers, too, in their way, but not of the literature that excites novel sensations, and only whets the appetite for something still more pungent, that destroys the moral balance of the soul, and like rust eats away the finer sensibilities, but of works still read and studied, for they are the choicest in English literature, which refine as well as enlighten. We think we have made great progress in education, and imagine we know much more and better than our fathers. Fifty years ago, about the hearths of farmsteads near Pemistone or Bolsterstone, many a Saturday evening was spent in learning what was never taught in college halls, or in the places where men do congregate, as how to do battle with the real difficulties of life, how to attain a nobler manhood by overcoming ourselves, or conquering the tempter who had lain in wait to destroy, or launch into some higher theme with one who, taught of God, had drunk of the water of life; and while he related his experience every heart shared his delights. This is the fare that makes men strong.

Doddridge heard this lore at the hearth, Burton Ovary. Nor was he without sympathising friends of more cultured minds, who forgot his dissent in the charms of his conversation. They invited him to their mansions. Fitted to shine, visitors of the hour heard him with admiration ; he attracted them, and led on to higher themes, for he did not forget he was a minister of Christ for whom he longed to win them. This was seen in other days in his correspondence with them in answer to their serious enquiries about their fears and doubts.

But he could not conceal his light at Kibworth. The larger churches had heard of him, and they hastened to secure him for their vacant pulpits. The Rev. M. Warren, Presbyterian minister, Coventry, invited him to be his associate, and preach to twelve hundred people. Pershore, Worcester, wanted him. The Independent church, Haberdashers' Hall, London, entreated him to be Mr. Faxton's successor, and two of the Nottingham churches competed for his possession. But he declined them all. His reasons have been stated. He had another work of equal importance to do for which the Lord intended him, but not as yet revealed. A godly ministry was essential to the existence of Congregational churches. But they had to be found out and educated. The schools of the prophets were few, and another was wanted for the midland counties, which should be a college for lay students as well as a theological seminary for ministers ; when associated in study they might be compensated as far as possible for their exclusion from the Universities. But the principal must be a very able man in learning and teaching ability. Mr. Jennings had looked to Doddridge, not only to succeed him in the academy and make the above extension, but his death took place before any appointment could be made by the contributing churches, and the students were dispersed for a season.

Harborough, Kibworth, and Ashley were now united under the ministry of Mr. Some and Dr. Doddridge, for the two ministers could supply the three churches by a better arrangement of the Sunday services, and Mr. Some wanted him to preach at Harborough, which was much the largest church, to lighten his own responsibilities. He was an accomplished preacher and an excellent pastor. Their union brought them into closer intercourse, and led Mr. Some to learn how well fitted Doddridge was to re-establish the academy on a broader basis. He knew that Mr. Jennings had set his heart on having Doddridge for his successor. He, therefore, borrowed from Mr. Sanders, of Kettering, Doddridge's account of Mr. Jenning's scheme of academic instructions, visited Dr. I. Watts and submitted it to him for examination,

It was returned with annotations, and his judgment on the tutorship referred to therein was that

"The diversity of genius, the variety of studies, the severe intellectual, moral, and pious accomplishments, the constant duty and hourly labours necessary to fill such a post, can hardly be expected from any man living. Yet, if there is one person capable of such a post, perhaps it is the man who has so admirably described the scheme of education, and, as he seems to have surveyed and engrossed the whole comprehensive view and design, together with all its constant difficulties and accidental embarrassments, and yet supposed it to be practicable, I am sure I can never think of any person more likely to execute it than himself." So thought the author of "The right use of reason" of the capability of Doddridge to carry out the scheme he had so well described. Time proved that his appreciation was prophetic.

HE IS APPOINTED TO THE CHARGE OF THE ACADEMY.

The way was now prepared for effective action, and on the 10th of April, 1729, the neighbouring Nonconformist ministers met at Lutterworth to pray for a revival of religion. Mr. Some preached an admirable sermon on Rev. iii. 2, and appealed to the representatives to attempt the revival of the academy, and to place it in charge of Dr. Doddridge. This was unanimously responded to, for all believed that in him would be found a true successor to Mr. Jennings. He complied, and at midsummer, 1729, the academy was re-opened at Market Harborough, with Doddridge for its principal and Mrs. Jennings its matron. His stay there was short—hardly a year—not from discovered inefficiency, either as a preacher or tutor, nor from the loss of Mr. Some's confidence, but from the persistent manner in which the church at Castle Hill, Northampton, urged and repeated their unanimous request that he would be their minister. They had heard him preach, saw him in private life, and knew he was much loved and admired at Harborough and Kibworth; hence

NOTE.—Fortunately a photograph was secured by the foresight of the late Mr. J. Clarke, for many years an honoured deacon of the Congregational Church, of the Old House in which the college assembled, and a copy of this, with another of the Old Meeting House, in which Doddridge and Some preached just before the houses were demolished for other uses were presented by the church at Harborough to Doddridge Church, Northampton. Here they may be seen in the new vestry, and remind us that our fathers had successively enjoyed the same ministry. Doddridge's stay was short but long enough to sow precious seed at Kibworth and Harborough.

scrupled not to resort to every available means to compass their ends. Had Doddridge been the only minister of these united churches their proceedings would have been neither just nor generous after only one year's residence, but as Mr. Some was their minister, and Doddridge only an assistant, his removal seemed allowable in the circumstances. Kibworth and Ashley, it is true, would lose their minister, but represented as being only small village churches they ought to yield to the claims of a much larger where he could do much more good. Strong objections and protests were heard from Mr. Some and the united churches against his removal, and Doddridge was sorely tried by the contention. The spiritual state of the church at Northampton at the close of Mr. Tingey's ministry has been already stated. During his stay they had advanced in knowledge and piety. The Spirit of God was with them, and they wanted a minister who could carry on His work with still greater efficiency. Doddridge seemed to be just the man for their necessities, and therefore they were not very scrupulous how they could persuade him to come. Human passion evidently mingled with religious zeal and clouded the moral vision which ought to have been clear on the claims of their brethren.

Mr. Some rode to Northampton in order to persuade the church there to withdraw its invitation, but when he saw the actual state of things he took their part, and in writing to Doddridge confessed that "the hearts of the people were moved together as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind." "I find myself in the utmost perplexity, and know not what to say or do. I apprehend that you will wonder at what I write, and I think I am like 'Saul among the prophets,' and that the spirit that is in the people begins to seize me also." Again, Doddridge was almost persuaded to remain at Harborough, but he would pay Castle Hill one more visit and tell them so in the mildest way. His sermon was from the words, "And when he would not be persuaded they ceased, saying, the will of the Lord be done." The subject led him too near the fire for him to escape without feeling how great it was, and how vain it was to attempt its extinction. "After the service," Dr. Stanford says, "when he had reached his lodging at Mr. Shepherd's, Gold Street, in passing on to his own room, his thoughts were still tumbled up and down. He was sorry to say 'No,' yet felt convinced that he had no strength for such a great charge, and therefore was afraid to say 'Yes.' Just then the words fell upon his ear, 'As thy day is so shall thy strength be.' They were the words of a child reading to his mother; yet he felt inclined to think they were meant by God especially

for him." And he was right, for it was God's own word that, like an arrow, hit the mark to which He directed it, and the state of mind to which it was adapted. From the first, God was in the matter. He had heard the prayers and seen the tears of His people, and was certain to answer them in His own time and manner, for a people was wanted to whom he could render the special services. *He* who prepares the ground provides the seed and the sower. He remained a few days longer to inter Mr. Buyan, father of one of the deacons, who had died suddenly after Doddridge promised to preach his funeral sermon when his death was not thought so near. This brought him into closer touch with the people and strengthened favourable impressions. "During the whole of this interval, I was besieged by the friendly importunities of the congregation, and when, before I went away, the young people came to me in a body, and earnestly entreated me to come among them, promising to submit to all such methods of instruction as I should think proper, I found my heart so much melted with their affectionate fervour that I was no longer master of myself, and agreed to take the affair into consideration again. Upon the whole, I was persuaded in my *conscience* that it was my duty to accept the invitation; and God is my witness, when I did accept it, which was on the Saturday, it was with the utmost reluctance. I acted, indeed, without the advice of almost any of my friends, and directly contrary to that of some for whom I had a very high regard; but I thought myself obliged in conscience to act according to my own views, as it is certain that I must answer for myself another day." Thus it was not the advice of his friends, nor the voice of the church, but the voice of an enlightened conscience that decided him. To obey an enlightened conscience is to obey God as nearly as we can ascertain His will in this earthly state. "Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that which he approveth." This momentous decision cost him much. "I should have rejoiced from my soul to have seen a convenient way to come off. Nothing ever went nearer me in my life." Then he was blamed, censured, and reproached by his friends. "I never spent any days in my life in such deep, bitter, uninterrupted distress as those which preceded my removal from Harborough."

The following is a copy of the invitation—which now may be seen in the old vestry—to become a candidate and preach four Sundays to them.

"The Church of Christ in Northampton sendeth greeting,

Rev. Sir.—The dispensation of God's providence towards us in suffering the removal of our late pastor from us is very

awful, and we hope hath layn with weight upon all our hearts, and has put us upon prayer and supplication to God, the great Shepherd, that he would appear for us and direct us in this difficult and weighty matter, and send one amongst us that he will eminently own and make a great blessing unto us.

"Sir, we have had some taste of your ministerial abilities in your occasional labours amongst us, in which you gave a general satisfactian to the congregation. But the matter being so important, we humbly apply ourselves to you, that you would come to us and preach amongst us a month as a candidate in order for whole satisfaction, you being the first after Mr. Miles that has been invited on such an account. We shall leave our brethren that bring this invitation to use what further arguments they think fit with you to accept of this invitation; and shall recommend you to the wisdom and conduct of the Divine Spirit, and continue our prayers and supplications to the Great God for our direction, and so subscribe our names, the order and consent of the whole Church.

"September 28th, 1729.

"George Mason,	Malory Weston,
Wm. Bliss,	Rich. Norton,
Edward Dunkley,	Wm. Avery,
Richard Pendred,	William Manning,
	James Hackleton."

The Church followed up their prayers by trying to influence him in their favour through his best friends. Mr. Bliss visited Dr. Clarke, his old friend at St. Albans, and the result was a letter in support of the prayers of the church, which says, "how ready they should be, in every particular, to make the removal agreeable to you; and that as to your objection from your attendance upon your pupils, they would gladly accept of what time you could spare without any damage to them, as they were sensible that you have abilities to go through with both employments. They further urged that should you refuse their invitation, it might expose them to the danger of division, and they could not join unanimously in any other call." A suitable house, on easy terms would be provided for his academy, in which rooms would be furnished at their own expense; that Mrs. Jennings would be compensated for any expense she might have been at in providing for his pupils, if she did not think fit to remove her family to Northampton. Then, addressing Doddridge directly, he says, "I must own, their very great zeal in this matter weighs very much with me, and the more so, because it would give you the prospect of being at great service there, and, by that means, in the county, where you might be

an instrument of promoting a more catholic spirit, as well as of bringing in souls to Christ. I am ready to think that God has more special work for you to do there."

No doubt this letter had something to do in influencing Doddridge's acceptance of the call to Northampton. Mr. Clarke had been a father to him when he most needed one—knew him well from closest intimacy, paid the expenses of his education, and been made acquainted with his progress in his studies, and all his affairs, with all his desires to preach the Gospel and educate his pupils; his words must, therefore, have had great weight, even as those of a parent in advising his son whom he loved.

At length, after many consultations, much correspondence, and earnest prayer, Doddridge had his way made clear, accepted the invitation of the church, and sent the reply which follows:—

To the Congregation at Northampton, on my acceptance of their Invitation to undertake the Pastoral Charge.

December 6th, 1729.

My Dear Friends,—After a serious and impartial consideration of your case, and repeated addresses to the Great Father of Light for His guidance and direction, I can, at length, assure you that I am determined by His permission to accept of your kind invitation, and undertake the pastoral care of you, with the most ardent feelings of sincere gratitude and affection.

You will easily apprehend that I could not form this resolution without a great deal of anguish, both in regard to those friends whom I am called upon to resign, and in reference to that great and difficult work that lies before me, in the care of your large congregation and my academy. But I hope that I have sincerely devoted my soul to God and my Redeemer; and, therefore, I would humbly yield myself up to what, in present circumstances, I apprehend to be His will. I take this important step with fear and trembling, yet with an humble confidence in Him, and with the hope that, in the midst of these great difficulties, He will not leave me entirely destitute of that *presence* which I desire to prefer to everything which life can bestow.

As for you, my brethren, let me entreat of you that, "If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy." Let me beseech you to remember that, by accepting your call, I have entrusted the happiness of life into your hands. Prepare yourselves, therefore, to cover my infirmities with the mantle of your love, and continue to treat me with the same kindness and gentleness as those dear and excellent friends have done whom I am now about to leave in compassion to your souls; for God knows that no temporal advantage you could have offered would have engaged me to relinquish them.

May my Heavenly Father comfort my heart in what is now determined, by giving an abundant success to my ministrations among you, so that a multitude of souls may have reason to praise Him on that account! And let me beg that you will bear me daily on your hearts before His throne in prayer, and seek for me that extraordinary assistance, without which I must infallibly sink under the great work I have thus undertaken.

I shall continue to recommend you, my dearly beloved, to the grace of Almighty God, the Great Shepherd of His Sheep, with that affection which now so peculiarly becomes your most devoted friend and servant, in the bonds of our common Lord.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE.

The other document in the old vestry is a copy or the original of that which is found in the church book -—

"After repeated solicitations, long deliberations, and earnest prayer to God for direction, I came to a resolution to accept the invitation of my dear and most affectionate friends at Northampton, on Saturday, December 6th, 1729, and certified the Church of that resolution by a letter that evening. I left Harborough and came to settle here on Wednesday, December 24th."

THE ACADEMY.

The church at Northampton did not forget their promises to provide him a house that would be adapted to academic uses in the number of its apartments, and to satisfy Mrs. Jennings' claims for the loss she had suffered by his removal of the academy from Harborough so soon after coming there.

This house still stands in Sheep Street, but so much altered by being divided into different tenements, that it is at first somewhat difficult to get a clear conception of how it then appeared. But an architectural drawing of the facade hangs up at the chapel vestry, and in comparing it with the house in Sheep Street it is evident that another storey was added, providing a much larger number of bedrooms, which would be required by students.

As the number of students who came with Doddridge from Harborough was so limited that the accommodation in the house, as it then stood, was ample for them, the additions were, very possibly, not made till the increase of the students rendered them necessary.

This house was the property of Lord Halifax. Very probably his town house, but the illustration is from a drawing after the alterations. The second storey had been added.

A personal examination of this storey confirms our conclusion that it was added long after Doddridge's removal to Northampton, for the number of small sitting-rooms and bedrooms into which it was divided is much greater than even a mansion would require, but such as an academy would render necessary; and then its double floor—the first or lower that of garrets, and the second of sufficient strength to meet all the additional weight of so many bedrooms.

This is the house to which he refers when he tells of coming home. "I came to lodge at home on the Wednesday following the 21st of January, 1730, and I took possession of that chamber in which I hope to spend most of the remaining hours of my life." And it proved as true in event as in anticipation.

His students were there and his servants engaged, yet it was hardly a home, for the help-meet was still wanting, who, while she completes and adorns, rules and orders the whole, so that her husband can give all his attention to his own duties. At first the number of his students was small, and all the better, for he had more time for the preparation of his lectures and for the many calls on his attention which entering on his new pastorate made imperative.

HIS ORDINATION.

Soon after his settlement at Northampton he desires to be ordained, and applies for the usual certificate from his ministerial brethren. A copy follows—

"We, whose Hands are hereunto Subscribed, do hereby certify all whom it may concern that Mr. Philip Doddridge, of Northampton, having addressed himself to us Ministers of the Gospell, desiring to be ordained a Presbyter. We being sufficiently assured of the Unblamableness of his conversation, and Proficiency in his studies, proceeding solemnly to set him apart to the Office of the Ministry and the Pastoral care of the Church at Northampton aforesaid on the Nineteenth day of March, $17\frac{29}{30}$, and therefore esteem and declare him to be a lawful and sufficiently authorised Minister of Jesus Christ, and heartily recommend Him and his Ministry to the divine Blessing.

"Witness our Hands.

"Present and Consenting,

"J. Brogden, Wigston,
Robt. Davidson, Hinckley,
J. Morris, Welford,
S. Clarke, St. Albans,
Ja. Watson, Leicester,
Edw. Broadbent, Birmingham,
Thos. Sanders, Kettering,
J. Drake, Yardley,
Jno. Hunt, Newport."

His ordination was held on March 19, 1730, and the following is his own account of it—

"The work of the day was fulfilled in a very honourable and agreeable manner. Mr. Goodrich, of Oundle, commenced the service by Prayer and reading the Scriptures. Mr. Dawson, of Hinckley, continued those exercises, and then Mr. Watson, of Leicester, preached a suitable sermon from 1 Tim. iii. 1, 'This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.' After the sermon, Mr. Norris, of Welford, read the *Call of the Church*, of which *I declared my Acceptance*, and then received my *Confession of Faith* and *Ordination Vows*, and proceeded to *Set me Apart by Prayer*; Mr. Clarke, of St. Albans, gave the *Charge* to me, and Mr. Sanders, of Kettering,

the *Exhortation* to the people; then Mr. Wattack, of Daventry, concluded the solemnity with prayer." His health was very indifferent at this time, and it can be easily accounted for.

MARRIAGE.

Some months after Miss Jennings had rejected Doddridge's ardent suit with something like disdain, he made an excursion into Worcestershire for recreation, and perhaps with the hope that his consolation would be best found in a new affection. However this may be, great things for his future happiness and usefulness came of that journey. In visiting his friend Mrs. Owen he again met with Miss Maris, whose personal graces and accomplishments had left deep impressions on a heart already occupied. Now it is tender and very susceptible from disappointment, especially to a young lady of whom we learn "that she was rather tall, and presented that free and flowing outline which painters love to copy. Her air and general carriage had the easy self-possession and confiding grace which inspire respect and bestow comfort. She dressed handsomely, but without assumption; and, if she was a little too critical in that particular, the sense of formality was lost in the vivacity of her conversation; to which black eyes, raven hair, and the ardent tint which so often mantles on the cheeks of a brunette gave a particular zest." This is a relative's description, and hence we may suspect she has not suffered in the finer traits. After her mother's early death, she had been brought up by her maternal aunt, the wife of Ebenezer Hawkins, a gentleman of considerable estate derived from ancestors who came over with the Conqueror, and who resided at Upton-on-Severn.

His impressions of her personal graces and his estimate of her mental and moral excellencies were so exalted that he would at once have pressed his suit, but prudential reflections restrained his ardour for the present. He must first honourably consult her relatives. "Mrs. Owen, in whom he can confide, is to communicate his letter only to those whom it may concern. The first few years of his ministry had been spent with a little congregation in the country, when his income was just enough to maintain him and furnish him with a few books. He is now minister of a large and flourishing congregation, whose stated subscription is above seventy pounds a year, and the perquisites, so far as he could guess by what he had already received, made it above eighty"—double the forty that made Auburn's vicar "surpassing rich." "From his pupils he received thirty—in profits." His friends, too, in London, the Congregational Board, do not forget him, so that he has one hundred and twenty

pounds a year to maintain himself and family exclusive of his boarder students. A considerable sum had been expended in furnishing and providing a room for each of his students, and though his people had presented him with furniture valued at fifty pounds, yet he had to borrow one hundred and eighty pounds, with interest, to cover the balance. Part of this debt had been already provided for, and the balance would be more than covered by his books and plate were he immediately to die. In addition to all this there is a chance of a little estate worth about fifty-six pounds a year. But this is uncertain, for another is to have prior possession and might interfere with the entail. But if so he is obliged to pay him one hundred and fifty pounds."

Thus the true man lays open, as to his confessor, the exact state of his finances, that the lady and her relatives may know all that may affect her personal interests. Thus, too, this heroic servant of God humbles himself to his prospects, though he may lose the best opportunity of his life by his honesty. He is striving to attain the station, whose duties will satisfy his aspirations, and in which the results will certify his divine vocation. God meant him to be a harbinger of one of the greatest manifestations of His own Son, by the Holy Ghost, since primitive times, but he seemingly leaves him to struggle on in pinched circumstances and clouded prospects, to which his utter sincerity and truthfulness will not allow him to add the smallest deceptive colouring in order to gain the prize for which another would sacrifice even his honesty. In such details moral principles are more severely tried than in great exploits. The refined gold of the sanctuary is seen in them. "He that is faithful in the least is faithful also in much." A farthing is enough to teach the law of infinite love. Hearts so united cannot be parted by the greatest calamities.

The conclusion of his letter is worthy of such a statement of his affairs, "You have had, madam, a plain account of my circumstances, in which I have concealed nothing that I apprehend advantageous to my pretensions. *I had, indeed, much rather lose the dearest blessing of life by frankness and integrity than gain it by artifice and deceit.*" His referees for his character as a man and a minister are Drs. I. Watts and Wright, of London; Messrs. Somes, of Harborough; Saunders, of Kettering; and Harris, of Welford, who had known him for years.

Doddridge's candid statement neither abated Miss Maris' affection nor led her relatives to oppose their union. She saw in him a wealth of worth and affection which gold could not buy, and which would more than compensate her for limited

means and toilsome days. The wife of a great man, if also great-hearted, ought to be willing to share his burdens. Of this he is aware in his letter of November 1st, 1730. After touching on some traits which have increased his admiration, he adds, "That heroic fortitude and sobriety under an affliction which might have shocked the most manly resolution, that cheerful confidence in the care of Divine Providence which emboldens you to venture on these precarious circumstances, which sometimes give me timorous apprehension on your account, though not on my own; these, madam, are the beauties which strike me more than all the charms of your person, as I know they will not only stand the assault of disease and the shock of age, but will survive the ruin of the grave, and be the lasting ornament in the eyes of angels and in the presence of God. Nor is there any of these immortal beauties that delight me more than that generous zeal which you discover for my usefulness in life, under the important characters of a minister and a tutor." Upon the whole, such a relation is one of the highest that a woman can fill. In her heart she takes him for better or for worse, for richer and for poorer, so that the public utterance of the pledge will be its true expression. "His duties," he knows, will consume much of his time, so that little will be left, for which he grieves; "but then I reflect, with inexpressible pleasure, upon that true greatness of mind, of which I know you to be possessed, and will engage you to wish that your husband's life may be as honourable and useful as possible; that genuine piety which will engage you to prefer the glory of God to any selfish motive, and that firm faith in a future world which will teach you to form your schemes with a due regard to our mutual happiness there; and in this view I persuade myself, madam, that you will animate me to fulfil my duty rather than deter me from it, and *let this letter witness for me that it is my request that you would do so.*"

Some have imagined that Doddridge's susceptibilities to female charms were too easily and too strongly excited to permit that prudent estimate of mental and moral character which ought to determine his choice of a help-meet for a life of self-denial and endless cares; but his letters to Miss Maris are proof positive that strong as his passion was it never mastered either his reason or his conscience so far, that, had he discovered any real deficiency in these respects, he would have sacrificed his passion to his duty. But finding in Miss Marris the true and deep piety which will lead her to prefer the glory of God to the vanities of earth, he allows his heart the greatest license in its affections. In him celestial love rules and regulates the earthly,

or blends with and exalts it to its likeness, because it comes from God and leads to God.

He received an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, at Upton, in order to settle their affairs before marriage. Miss Maris is to accompany him, and this will lead to an absence of three weeks, which he deplores. Lady Russel sends him her service. But the smallpox is fatal to many at Coventry, and he will not let her incur the hazard of infection. This danger is, however, avoided. The family seat at Upton was finely situated. It was surrounded by well-cultivated land, and the scenery of the foreground is luxuriantly rich, while the noble range of the Malvern Hills, rising to the west, crowns the distance. There, on the 22nd of December, 1730—a day which Doddridge ever considered as the happiest of his life—they were united, and had we been his people then we should have celebrated it with great rejoicing and fervent prayers for their happiness.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY WHEN DR. DODDRIDGE REMOVED TO NORTHAMPTON.

During the Whig rule, from 1712 till 1742, the country enjoyed unusual prosperity. Walpole was Prime Minister twenty-one of these years. He was the first and greatest of our peace Ministers. His policy was almost that of "Peace at any price." But this progress was material rather than mental, in arts and sciences rather than in religion and moral purity. Manufactures advanced with rapid strides, and the traces of revolution disappeared before a sense of security and profitable industry. It was Walpole who uttered the memorable saying, "that the most pernicious circumstances in which this country can be are those of war; as we must be losers while it lasts, and cannot be gainers when it ends." The accumulation of wealth was seen in the stimulus given to the arts that embellish life—domestic architecture, better living, freer and more polished social intercourse. The intense religious and political contentions that had severed the people into hostile camps, never at peace, now yielded to the spirit of mutual toleration. Education, too, shared in this advance. Doddridge's academy at Northampton was for lay as well as for divinity students, and proved that Nonconformists prized learning and were prepared to pay for its most advanced culture. The Universities excluded all who would not conform, but in the academies of Nonconformists secular instruction was little inferior, and in theological superior to that of the Universities. Yet all this material and social progress was

attended by great moral and religious decline. The vices were rampant and all things were venal in political life. "Walpole was the first who made Parliamentary corruption a regular part of his system of government." It was he who said, "A vote is too valuable to be given without recompense;" and "That every man has his price." But Parliament in this, as well as in some other respects, only reflected the state of society. We are, therefore, prepared for what Mr. Green says of the moral state of the people when Walpole fell in 1742, in his "Short History of the English People."

"A shrewd, if prejudiced observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, and the most remiss of their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." The decay of the great dissenting bodies went hand in hand with that of the church, and during the early part of the century the Nonconformists declined in number as in energy. But it would be rash to conclude from this outward paralysis that the religious sentiment was dead in the people at large. There was, no doubt, a revolt against religion and against churches in both the extremes of English society. "In the higher circles every one laughs," says Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. A late prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, was in the habit of appearing with his mistress at the play. Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion, and Lord Chesterfield in his letters to his son instructs him in the art of seduction as a part of a polite education." "Never had religion appeared at a lower ebb." "The decay of the great dissenting bodies," referred to above by Mr. Green, needs no special proof. Our leaders in these midland counties had publicly confessed it and held meetings to devise appropriate means for "the revival of the dissenting interest." In this Doddridge had taken a prominent part. It is easily accounted for. Prosperity, wealth, and leisure led to the selfish indulgence which will not brook any restraints, nor listen to any preaching that requires a just and holy life, and rebukes vice.

Sir Isaac Newton's brilliant achievements in mathematical science, and its application to astronomy, led a number of tyros to imagine that the key which unlocks every mystery had been found, and humanity would soon be emancipated from the bondage of religion. Similar wild speculations have followed nearly

all great discoveries, for it is forgotten that each science is limited to its own sphere, and that its laws are diverse from those of every other. Since A. Von Humboldt failed in his grand attempt to discover the Cosmos the subject remains in abeyance.

Moral and mathematical science are striking examples of this diversity. Moral laws are not to be determined and reduced to a set of propositions based on the same axioms and definitions as the problems of Euclid. Their elements are radically diverse, and therefore not commensurate. Astronomy is now rarely invoked to prove the absurdity of religious beliefs. Time has assigned its place in the "Circle of the Sciences," and other sciences are gradually taking their places in the same manner. Not one of them has supplied the evidence that shakes our faith in the moral laws and facts of our Christianity. There is, really, nothing to fear from science. Patient waiting will be rewarded by the full demonstration that Jesus Christ is at once the author of Christianity and the creator of the universe.

Whiston was one of those hasty scientists that overlook the radical difference between mathematical science and Christian morality. Pierce was one of his converts, and the leader of the party which, under various names, has refused to believe in the divinity of the "Son of God." However, they were the generic successors of that group of thinkers which gathered round Lord Falkland at Great Tew, on the eve of the Civil War, and at its close again came to the front. They differed from both High Churchmen and Puritans by their opposition to dogma; by preference for reason rather than tradition, whether Biblical or ecclesiastical; by their basing their religion on natural theology; by aiming at rightness of life rather than correctness of opinion. But a careful analysis of these antitheses proves that they are not really opposed but only shifted out of their places, so that when they are scientifically adjusted they are found to agree. Doddridge knew, experienced, and verified that as a Christian he was a new creation, that his physical frame was the work of the same Creator as his life in Christ Jesus—nor can science ignore the fact or refuse to accept the moral laws and their practical exhibition, if it is the true interpreter of all life. Such were the revealed truths and facts set forth at Castle Hill.

HIS FAITHFULNESS.

During twelve of the twenty-one years of Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, Dr. Doddridge was minister at Castle Hill, and had to contend with the immorality and infidelity to which reference

— Chapel, Northampton.

has already been made; but his moral courage and faithfulness never seem to have faltered or abated in accommodation to the opinions or manners of society. He is seldom an apologist or polemic in his preaching, but proclaims Christ crucified, the Son of God, and the Saviour of the lost, as one to whom doubt rarely comes. He believes, and knows what he believes, for he has traversed the whole arena of experimental theology. None of his sermons betray any misgivings. Like a physician that knows the disease from which his patient suffers, and that the medicine he gives, if taken, will restore, so Doddridge preaches Christ to dying men. Nor does his Family Expositor, in the composition of which every text of the original was translated or paraphrased, leave a shadow of doubt on the divinity of the Son of God. This persistency of simple, unwavering faith in the great verities of religion, this strict consistency in a holy life—when the whole tone of social morality was such that a foreigner who visited us says, "In the higher circles every one laughs if one talks of religion!"—were clear proofs in evidence of his faith. In the careful reading of his correspondence it is surprising to find how rarely such subjects seem to engage his attention. It looks as if he had purposely excluded them that he might exclusively yield his best thoughts and affections to divine things. This may partly account for the manner in which he was received and affectionately regarded by the piously inclined. He lives and speaks as a man of God, and the persuasion of its reality is indubitable. We cannot explain the manner in which he is approached by all classes of his correspondents by any attempt on his part to assume a character in order to please. No, he seems always himself, and is grave or gay as his sympathies suggest. Surely, he was a witness for God, a burning and a shining light in the gloom, that seekers might find the "wicket gate," cease to doubt, and the poor reprobate be saved, like Gardiner!

Doddridge's preaching must be criticised from this point of view and not from a literary one.

DR. DODDRIDGE AS A PREACHER.

The time spent by him in the composition of his sermons could not be much. His other engagements did not permit more. But whether long or short, he secured three essential conditions: prayer, study of the text, and the knowledge of his people's wants, which excited the deep sympathy that led him to supply them in his treatment of the subject. That old vestry at the chapel was his oratory and holy place. Peace was his companion there—the peace he could not find at the

academy in one of the noisiest streets of the town. The vestry was therefore respected by those who would devise a call and forget that they were consuming the precious time and spoiling the peace devoted to preparation for the pulpit.

Doddridge seemed to surrender himself wholly to the confessions and intercessions which he felt most fitted to exalt him into communion and fellowship with the Saviour in his own ministry; a clearer apprehension through the Spirit's teaching of the full meaning of his text; and of its wealth of instruction to supply the wants of his flock. "Here he agonized in prayer, not for himself only, but for his pupils and his children by name; here he mourned for sin; here his faith that seemed to be dead became alive again, and the lost was found." He preached to them in his heart while he thought of them and prayed for them. He watched the arrows of light he had directed to the consciences and hearts of his audience, and anticipated their convincing or comforting effects. He was therefore wholly and unreservedly the preacher while he was engaged, and could not find a moment for a fine gesture or a studied look. He did better, for his heart was right with God and with them, and it used eye, look, and posture to give it expression. It is the wide difference between the natural and the artificial, and *pleases the King far better.*

That Doddridge was a diligent student of the Word of God is proved by his "Family Expositor" and "Theological Lectures." His familiarity with the Greek of the New Testament and the Hebrew of the old enabled him to get at the correct meaning. Biblical criticism since his day has done much for the scientific study of the scriptures, but nothing that detracts from the intrinsic value of the facts and doctrines therein revealed that make for life and godliness. The Spirit of God is his teacher, and guides him into all truth. Here he prays, meditates, and prepares his sermons. The vestry is hardly large enough for a turn, but the chapel adjoins, or the path in front, where unseen he can stimulate thought by physical movement. Doddridge seemingly lingers there still, and the vestry invites us to pray with him.

On the composition of his sermons what the Rev. Job Orton says best reveals the principle by which he was chiefly influenced: "They were more admired *for the direct assistance* they furnished than for their literary excellency." When sermons are meant to interest the mind and lead to reflection, rather than to stir the affections and awaken the conscience, they are generally prepared without the imagined presence of the parties whom they are meant to profit, but the

DODDRIDGE'S VESTRY.

"direct assistance Doddridge furnished" implies that they had directness and sympathy with them in the actual trials or temptations through which they were passing. Such sermons are not and cannot be like the literary essays that are called sermons. These may instruct the understanding; those comfort and strengthen faith.

"He had taken great care and pains in the composition of his sermons when he first entered the ministry, but his work as a tutor and the pastoral care of a large congregation rendered it next to impossible that he should be so exact and accurate afterwards." Yes, and this pastoral care, this actual contact by facts and phases with the real lives of his flock, furnished him with cases to the point, without the names of the parties, that brought home his teaching. "Having habituated himself for several years to correct composition and laid up such a fund of knowledge, especially from the scriptures, . . . he sometimes wrote down the heads and leading thoughts of his sermon and the principal texts of scripture he intended to introduce; but he was so thoroughly master of his subject and had so ready an utterance, and *so warm a heart*, that perhaps few ministers can compose discourses such as he preached from these short hints."

Again, there is an order of minds of whom it may be said that they can make memory as retentive as if the thoughts were inscribed by the phonograph. This is both natural and artificial. The memory is fair to begin with, but afterwards cultured by close thinking and frequent repetitions. Habit has a chief place here, for repetition is growingly less needed from the corresponding increase of retention.

Doddridge was of this mental order, and therefore what seemed impossible to others was facile to him. He had also learned that memory is much assisted by the emotions. What seemed half-forgotten to him at first was fully restored when he grew animated. He added to this the diffusive nature of emotion—call it magnetic, if you prefer—that is, sympathetically responded to in other hearts, so that simplest things from its possessor are better heard than great truths from another. Like Whitfield, Doddridge possessed this power. Those who have it not give it hard names, but, if added to a fine intellect and clear diction, it immensely enhances the influence of what is delivered. The assembly is spell-bound, as when Archbishop Magee preached. Let us hear him describe it in his own way: —"It is my desire not to entertain an auditory with lively, pretty things, which is comparatively easy, but to come close to their consciences, to awaken in them a real sense of their spiritual concerns, to bring

them to God and to keep them near to Him, which is an exceedingly hard thing." Hard, because the soul, as well as reason, must give it full force and compass.

But even these do not account for Doddridge's power as a preacher, for his ministry was fruitful in abiding conversions. In 1705 the church numbered 308 members. *He believed in the Holy Ghost*, for he knew Him in his own conversion and frequent renewal. When he studied the Scriptures he looked for His teaching; when he prayed he sought His unction; when he preached he implored to be possessed and used by Him. In his measure he, therefore, preached like Paul or Apollos. Hence, A. Knox says, "in what directly concerned the piety of the heart I know not a man in the last century to be set above him." Salvation by grace, and grace alone, which is wholly of God, was one of his favourite subjects. His two sermons on "Salvation by Grace" are his best exposition of his views on the subject, and they suffice to prove that his faith in the real presence of the Spirit of God was neither mystic nor ideal, but a conscious, personal communion.

HE WAS ALSO THE MINISTER OF THE YOUNG.

Though his sermons were usually prepared for adults, he did not forget the young. Of this Dr. Job Orton says, "He had a deep concern and an affectionate regard for the rising generation. Besides an annual sermon to the young on New Year's Day, he often particularly addressed them in the course of his preaching. And in his conversation he also discovered that sense of the importance of the rising generation which he had expressed in his sermon on this subject, and which he had so warmly exhorted parents to cultivate in the education of children." Our congregations are usually made up of families, on whom we have most to depend for our numbers and stability. Our Sunday Schools gather many whose parents never come, and have little or no interest in our existence. The majority of their children are not bound to us by home relations which church connexions found and foster, and, unless early won to the Saviour, which makes the place where they found Him a Bethel, to which they must return, they go away and no more is seen of them. Sunday Schools were unknown in Doddridge's times, and therefore the church had to look to the families of the members who constantly attended chapel with them for their successors. Their education, therefore, was of vital importance. This was deeply felt by all, and great attention was given to the Sunday School at home, of which the parents were the teachers, or, at chapel, the minister himself. Our Sunday School teachers are interested

and devoted, but they are in touch with their scholars only two or three hours a week, and, therefore, cannot follow up the deeper impressions made by their instructions ; but parents are always with them, and though they are careful not to weary them with too much instruction, yet their very presence and felt interest in their children is a great moral and spiritual force for their good. Their second home was the chapel. Their forefathers had worshipped there, family memorials were numerous and touching, and their own associations with the place most intimate, so that leaving it was never thought of. They were, therefore, *home-born*, and the place was dear to them "for their brethren and companions' sake." The loyalty that guarded its fair fame was nurtured there. It carried back thought for ages ; it revived the remembrance of what the fathers had suffered for the truth's sake ; it spoke from the pulpit of faithful ministers, from the pews of noted Christian men and women, and from the graves where their ashes wait the resurrection of the just. Hence, when great additions were made to the chapel, some years ago, care was taken that only one wall should be removed, and the new carried out so much in harmony with the old that it seems the architect's design rather than recently enlarged. It is, therefore, still the chapel of Shepard, Hunt, Tingey, and Doddridge. The repairs also recently made, with the massive porch, in which our beloved deacon, Mr. J. Robinson, took so great an interest, have all been carried out in the same manner. It is, therefore, very desirable that our church should retain our representative families to bear on to coming ages the unity, activity, life, and purity which have hitherto given it a name in the county. And not the least contribution to this will be the home education of the young. Doddridge's sermons on Proverbs xxii. 6, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," might be profitably studied by Christian parents now for he brings the duty home and enforces it by incontrovertible evidences.

CATECHISING.

Catechising the children in the afternoon or evening was customary in Christian families. Evening services had not then been introduced, and so the quiet hours before bedtime were free for this purpose. It was the Sunday School at home. Dr. Isaac Watts bent his mind to provide for it by writing his famous catechisms, adapted to their age. Then he added the Hymns for children, which we learned in boyhood, and which were almost alone at the time in their excellency and simplicity.

It is a splendid occasion for parents, well-instructed, wise to win attention and make truth impressive : but more than this, to draw all the members of the family into spiritual unity by the touches of love and the light that shines as from a golden candlestick into all their hearts. Jewish parents owe more to this for the preservation of their faith than any other form of instruction (see the *Pirke Aboth*).

Catechising, however, did not end with the family ; it had its place in the services of the church, generally in the afternoon, sometimes in the morning. The minister was the catechist, and the children, with many more, were assembled in the church. Spending a few weeks in Scotland, at one time, I had good opportunity to witness this exercise. The Rev. Mr. Sinclair, the minister and my friend, was the catechist, and the assembly was made up of the Sunday School scholars, their young friends, and many of the parents with interested relatives. He had evidently made the subject a study, and, to my joy, succeeded in getting replies not only to the questions of the day but on a number of points suggested by them. There was an interest and thoughtfulness over the assembly which could not but be fruitful. The answers were heard in sharp, ready replies, whose form had sometimes a glint of humour. Such, we imagine, was the manner of Doddridge as a catechist, but no reporter was present to picture the scene.

"He much lamented the growing neglect of ministers to catechise the children of their congregations ; and to this neglect he imputed many of the irregularities which are to be seen in youth. Many parents are incapable of it, and many neglect it ; he, therefore, looked upon this as a most important part of his pastoral work, and pursued it during the summer seasons through the whole course of his ministry, notwithstanding his many avocations." And again—

"He was so sensible of the usefulness of this work and of the skill and prudence necessary to conduct it, that I find this among many other resolutions formed at the entrance of his ministry. 'I will often make it my humble prayer that God would teach me to speak to children in such a manner as may make early impressions of religion upon their hearts.' The evidence at death of being saved, given by several young people who were under instruction, confirmed this resolution. But this was not enough." He established and encouraged private meetings for social prayer, especially *religious associations* amongst the young persons of the congregation, who used to meet weekly for reading, religious discourse, and prayer, and entered into engagements to watch over one another in their

Christian course. These societies were formed according to their different ages, and sometimes one young person with more knowledge and humility was a kind of president, who kept up the order of the society and gave the pastor hints by which he might be led to establish those who were wavering, and encourage those who were timorous in religion." Nothing could be more helpful to his ministry. It deepened impressions made by his discourses, led to the removal of doubts and difficulties, restrained frivolity and instituted the unassuming moral control which made them mutual guardians. The most fruitful season of my own ministry was when such private meetings spontaneously sprung up and were faithfully continued. But their conduct and their spirit depended chiefly on the leaders. The Christian Endeavour Societies are striking instances of the increasing solicitude of the churches to arm the young people against the multiplied temptations of the times, and confirm them in the service of the Saviour. Young people have great moral power for good or evil over their associates. They follow their leaders and imitate their doings. The Sunday school, with all that it has become, is here sketched out, and the evening classes for the advancement of the young in divine knowledge and personal piety are anticipated. "At his Young Men's Society, which some of his younger students attended, he proposed some practical questions weekly, and the answers were returned at their next meeting. These answers he threw together, enlarged upon and delivered on Friday evening instead of his usual exposition or sermon." He found the benefit of these associations in many respects; in the readiness with which those who had belonged to them set up the worship of God in their own families, and the reverent manner in which it was conducted.

HE FOUNDS A CHARITY SCHOOL.

Finding to his grief that some of his hearers had not been taught to read, through the ignorance or neglect of their parents, he persuaded his people to concur with him in founding a *Charity School.* This was supported by subscriptions, and grew till twenty pupils could be supported. "Whatsoever he did prospered, for the Lord was with him." All these societies for educating the young were founded and carried on at least one hundred and fifty years ago by Doddridge and the church at Castle Hill, and anticipated much that we are now attempting for the same objects. Our facilities are greater, for all the children are taught to read at their respective

schools, and we have every appliance in books, music, and comfortable class-rooms to render the work agreeable, if we have only the teachers with the requisite knowledge and happy knack of teaching like Doddridge.

EXTEMPORARY POWER IN PREACHING.

Doddridge's ability as an extemporaneous speaker was extraordinary. Yet we fail to supply a principal item in forming a correct estimate of his power as a preacher and teacher. We have neither seen nor heard him—seen his figure, his facial language, his manual action; nor heard his voice, the vehicle of his emotions, that tells of his yearning, his solicitude, his sorrow, or his joy over them. Had we heard him preach one such sermon as we have described, or seen him in the midst of his class in one of his happiest moods, we could judge better of what he was as a preacher and teacher than all the critics can describe.

CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Doddridge attached great importance to the celebration of the Lord's Supper on account of the spiritual benefit he had himself enjoyed in its pious observance. The previous Saturday was specially devoted to preparation, and, to avoid distracting interruptions, the business of the week was as far as possible completed on Friday evening. His own account of these preparations is interesting: "He rose at a moderate time—six o'clock; endeavoured to obtain a due sense of his own unworthiness by remembering his sinfulness; read and expounded in the family portions of scripture suitable to the occasion; prayed in harmony with the subjects; examined his own heart by treating his sins in detail, and made a full confession of them; read some sacred poems; renewed his covenant; delivered a devotional lecture to his students; prayed for them and his people; the remainder of the time till three o'clock was given to praise; took some refreshment at three, and afterwards talked with his pupils on personal religion. In the evening he conversed with some pious friends, and closed the day with family worship and secret prayer."

On the Sunday before the celebration, which was held in the evening, he gave himself up to meditation and prayer on his own failures, unworthiness, and lack of love, exclaiming "My God! when Thou renewest the least taste of Thy love, when I

find, though but for a few hasty interrupted moments, the pleasure of conversing with Thee, I say it is good for me to be here. Here, O Lord, would I pitch my tabernacle, and rather dwell in the meanest cottage with Thee than in the most stately palace without Thee! May I not hope there is room, and that Thou hast not yet forsaken me? O, return to me in love; visit me this day in Thy house, and at Thy table, and for Thy name sake continue to lead me and guide me." Thus he strove to attain to real fitness to sit with the Lord and His people at His own table, and the record came to light long afterwards, so that we are constrained to exclaim, Here is a true Christian, whose life is hid with Christ in God, and its pleasures are exalted far above the best of earth!

Recollections of his discourse at the Lord's Table on the Sunday evening, Sept. 6th, 1730:—"The principal part of my discourse at the Table of the Lord this evening was a meditation on these words, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!* He is the Lamb of God; sent, appointed, approved by Him. And He takes away sin—not only some slight offences, *but all sin*; He has merit enough to take away those of the whole world! Behold Him with a sense of the malignity of that sin which needed the blood of such a lamb to expiate! Behold it with an apprehension of the goodness of God in appointing Him for a sacrifice, with a becoming regard to our Lord Jesus Christ, who submitted Himself to death for us; and with an entire dependence upon Him. Lord, I lay my sins on the head of this great sacrifice; content to lie for ever under them, if there be not merit enough in Him to expiate them all. Behold Him with a resolution to maintain becoming regards to Him for the future, and in the expectation of seeing the Lamb upon His throne and of ascribing eternal adoration to Him."

"In breaking the bread I observed the goodness of God in frequently repeating this solemnity. In pouring out the wine I said, suppose we had been present at the consultation in Heaven for the recovery of fallen man, and had seen the Lord Jesus Christ in His effulgent glory, could we have had the confidence to have proposed that He should descend and die for us? In the prayer, I considered it as an engagement—*sacrament*—to live and die unto the Lord; and as an encouragement to hope that we shall be the Lord's both in life and in death; declaring our dependence upon God, that He would perform His part of the covenant, and upon His grace, that we might perform ours." On such a sacramental celebration the hymn composed by him for the occasion was sung.

1 "My God, and is Thy table spread?
And does Thy cup with love o'erflow?
Thither be all Thy children led,
And let them all its sweetness know.

2 Hail! sacred feast, which Jesus makes,
Rich banquet of His flesh and blood;
Thrice happy he, who here partakes
That sacred stream, that heavenly food!

3 Why are its dainties all in vain
Before unwilling hearts displayed?
Was not for you the victim slain?
Are you forbid the children's bread?

4 O let Thy table honoured be,
And furnished well with joyful guests;
And may each soul salvation see,
That here its sacred pledges tastes."

No more appropriate hymn than this could be sung. It breathes the very feelings of a devout communicant in taking his place at *The Lord's Table*. But attempts have been made to turn it to sacerdotal service by attaching some realistic meaning to the second line of the second stanza. That he attached no such meaning to the words is evident from the cevi. sect., prop. clv. of his Theological Lectures. "The law of Christ requires that Christians throughout all ages of the Church should in a solemn manner *eat bread* and *drink wine* in their religious assemblies, as a *commemoration* of his death and a token of the engagements made to him, and a badge of their mutual affection to each other." This is fully demonstrated in the remainder of the lecture, in which he quotes Dr. Hoadly, p. 47, who says "There cannot be a propitiatory sacrifice offered to God in this ordinance, because it is a commemoration of that sacrifice which is frequently said to be offered *once for all.*" Heb. ix., 28. The same meaning was therefore attached to the words as in the definition *of a Sacrament* in the Catechism, as "An *outward* and *visible sign* of an *inward* and *spiritual grace.*" The visible signs of the Sacrament of the last Supper were the bread and wine, and no canon of criticism would admit of these being understood to be at the same time the things symbolized, for a sign is only used to suggest something of which it is an image or a name.

But on the other hand these were seasons of great spiritual blessing to those who, like Doddridge, anticipated them by prayer and devout meditation. Others too, who were present,

had the same experience, else Col. Gardiner would not have enquired "when the next celebration would be held, for he intended to come from Scotland to be present." It is the one ordinance instituted by our Lord for His people as a holy brotherhood, in which they are to sit at His Table, and commemorate the amazing love that led Him, when the dark shadow of His betrayal and crucifixion was on the table, to be in purpose a sacrifice for sin. The Church of Rome has exhausted genius and art to make the mass most impressive to the senses. We might and ought by faith's clear vision to behold Him as the Lamb of God with the love that draws Him near. One of its great attractions in their eyes is the transubstantiated bread and wine—Christ's body and blood—believed to be actually present. But this is the ministry of the senses. The higher ministry of faith and love sees Him as the living, glorified Saviour, yet with the print of the nails and the pierced side, which witness the death upon the Cross by which our sins are blotted out.

THE ACADEMY.

Dr. Doddridge was appointed to open an academy for the education of young men for the ministry, by the Congregational churches of these counties. This was founded at Market Harborough, but at the end of a few months removed to Northampton. The house in Sheep Street, provided by the church, was so large and well fitted for the purpose that it became his residence with the conjoining academy. There he resumed his tutorial work, but as he had arranged to receive lay students as well as clerical, he must prepare a curriculum whose studies will enable them to pass forward to the professions they meant to follow, or for private life as gentlemen. The preparations already made at Kibworth and Harborough for clerical students would now serve for the same purposes, but not for the special studies of these lay students. They must, therefore, be provided for, and the time for each so arranged as not to interrupt another or waste the precious hours.

A glance at the subjects and seasons for his lectures will be enough to indicate how much he designed and how well it was ordered.

"On Monday and Wednesday mornings, lecture on geometry, algebra, and trigonometry; forty-two lectures in the half-year. On Tuesday and Friday, on logic; forty-two lectures. On Saturday, shorthand and civil history; twenty-one lectures. Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings, French; sixty-three lectures. Tuesday and Friday, Hebrew; forty-two lectures.

And a little of classics every night; eighty-four lectures." At first he had no assistant, but afterwards, as his students increased in number, he provided assistants. This scheme concludes with the following addition, "I shall give my pupils devotional lectures, on the improvement of time, and on some other subjects."

His afternoons were devoted to pastoral work. He proposed a general visitation in town and country of the whole congregation, to enquire particularly after their state. "*I will have a peculiar regard to the young people,* for whom I propose to draw up a catechism. I will expound on Friday nights at the vestry; perhaps I may also expound before the morning service and catechise before that of the afternoon."

On a careful examination of Dr. Doddridge's educational works and correspondence I have not discovered much that is novel in his methods or their application. But in all that he has written there is evidence of an earnest endeavour to communicate his thoughts in the most perspicuous form. His doctrine is rarely obscure, and never in language meant to conceal its sense. Hence, some of the lovers of profundity treat his style as jejune, because it lacks the ideal and the mystical. But he had too much of poetic genius to fail in either if he had yielded to his tendencies. The fact is that he loved the truth itself better than all its fine adornments.

He was pre-eminently a student guided by common-sense, or knowledge that had more of the practical than the speculative to commend it to the understanding. There were noted lawyers in his family, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was more inclined to deal with facts and principles than abstractions. His students came to be prepared for the ministry and the secular professions, and, therefore, looked to him not only to guide them through their preparatory studies but for the mental culture and development which would enable them to think for themselves, and advance to the discovery of higher truth in theology and natural science. He well knew that knowledge has a trinity of attributes. The good for him must be true and beautiful. This is generally admitted. And equally so, the true must also be good and beautiful. This also is generally admitted. And the beautiful must also be good and true, else it would be a simulacrum—a deception. This also is admitted by the wisest and the best. Doddridge held that they ought not to be separated in their study, but always taught conjointly. And, therefore, he never thought of excluding Jesus Christ, the manifestation of God, as the supremely good, beautiful, and true, but made the knowledge of Him the broad founda-

tion on which ethics and theology must rest. Nor could he sever love in its primary principle from its secondary manifestation by ignoring the first and great commandment and striving to find a basis for duty on the second. "God is love."

In respect to practical methods of instruction, Doddridge attached great importance to the improvement of memory. Mere repetition of his lectures was too mechanical. Stenography was used in reporting and repeating them. The system employed was his own, and devised to impress the matter more deeply on the memory. No doubt, symbols that not only represent sounds but syllables and words bring the subject more fully under mental survey, and exact a clearer knowledge of the sense. This is associated with the verbal forms of the vernacular and fortifies retention.

Frequent repetition had, no doubt, its place, but not without a revival of either the conditions in which the subjects were first taught or of additional expositions. To rouse and sustain the interest and receptivity, there must be more than "words! words!" The subjects must be made striking by the happy illustrations provided at the moment. "Nothing without thought," must have been a favourite maxim.

Names of things are more deeply impressed when given in closest association with either themselves or their pictures, and when they excite emotion. What we feel most we remember best. And if more than one sense can be enlisted in examining the different qualities of an object, memory records the sum of the sensations whose perceptions go to form the image. No one forgets a rose after having once seen, smelt, and touched its splendid beauty. Doddridge knew all this, and by its constant use won the concentered thought, the admiration, the veneration of his students, so that his doctrine did not linger in the ear or at the entrance of the sensorium, but went right on till it was possessed by reason, conscience, and memory. Hence, it was not a *cram*, but assimilation and growth. Memory, to abide, must be attached to things stronger than itself, else, like ivy without a wall or a tree to climb, it will fail. Doddridge conversed much with his students, like Sir William Hamilton—observed them, studied their capabilities, and discerned their moral conditions. That he did so is evident from his correspondence. The wayward and careless were committed to his charge by anxious parents, who knew that under Doddridge's tuition and paternal care nothing would be wanting to their reform and progress. Many of them were redeemed.

He knows what the habit of working methodically, exactly, and instantly has done for himself, and he earnestly labours to

reproduce the same habits in them, so that the spendthrifts of time become its economists. Some have smiled at his curriculum, and said, "This is attempting the impossible," because they have not taken into account all Doddridge's educational and moral resources.

In our esteem, the personal—or the mental, moral, emotional, and physical endowments that combine in a great teacher to make him what he is in the eyes of his scholars—is the principal factor of his efficiency. Or, if he is pleasing in his appearance and manners, exerts some magnetic attraction through look and voice, is winning in his ways, master of the subject, and able to place it clearly and strikingly before their minds, the *curiosity* and *reflection* which are essential conditions to learning are effectually excited. Dialogue is the most exciting form in which knowledge can be presented, for while it draws out the learner's own thoughts on a subject, it clears the way for the truth his teacher would impart. The greatest of the Greek philosophers used dialogue. And the greatest of all teachers, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is himself, "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," taught His disciples, when walking by the way or sitting in the house, in the form of dialogue, to which objects around and his own works often supplied the best illustrations.

But the personality of the Son of God conveyed the great moral and spiritual influence of His teaching. In presence, divine; in countenance and looks, wonderfully expressive! and, while captivating in speech, yet heart-searching as a refiner's fire, He purified and exalted the conceptions of His disciples, till they felt His infinite beauty, truth, and goodness. The temple in which the Deity dwells cannot conceal all His glory. Even His foes, deputed to take Him, could not resist His persuasive power, and returned to confess "Never man spake like this man." No book nor writing was used in which to record His sayings, yet they were so inscribed that when the Holy Spirit came upon them they returned to memory, as the audophone restores the words it has received long ago. This was the method used by the *Supreme Master*, but the prophets and apostles possessed it, in some measure, through the unction of the Holy Spirit. Yes, and every man sent by God to prepare the way possesses it according to his faith. Doddridge, as a preacher and teacher, most evidently had this heavenly gift. The personal in him was of the very order we have tried to describe, so that the moral and spiritual relations in which he stood to his students were most favourable to their education. He treated them kindly, thoughtfully, and never excited by unjust severity that fear which while it lasts, provokes resistance

and suppresses reflection. The latter treatment from a schoolmaster made me a truant for a season. I dreaded him and his slave-lash. Doddridge's sympathy with his students and his solicitude in promoting their best interests, as well as his fine, bright, joyous temperament made him their friend and companion in toil. They loved him and confided in him, so that in their intercourse fear and suspicion had no place, but only the confidence of an open face and an affectionate regard. Real affection and deep moral sympathy do not depend upon large and overflowing expression. To perceive Dr. Arnold grieved, and to discover the presence of something that chilled the warmth of his interest, troubled the Rugby boys, and led the erring ones to make a voluntary confession. Thus we can account for the amount of work done by his students and the number of eminent men whom he educated. The Rev. Job Orton, in his life of Dr. Doddridge, supplies us with the following summary of the pupils educated by him.

"So great was his reputation as a tutor that the number of his pupils was large; *communibus annis*, thirty-four. He had sustained this office about *twenty-two* years, and during that time had about *two hundred* young men under his care, of whom *one hundred and twenty*, as far as I can learn, entered upon the *ministry*, and several intended for it died while under his instructions. He had several pupils from Scotland and Holland. One person who was intended for the ministry in the Church of England chose to spend a year or two under his instruction before he went to the University. Others, whose parents were of that church, were placed in his family, and they were readily admitted as pupils, and allowed to attend the *Established Worship*, for the constitution of the academy was *perfectly catholic!* Some young divines from Scotland, who had studied and taken the usual degrees in the universities there, and had begun to preach, came to attend his divinity lectures and receive his instructions before they settled in parishes in their native country. During their residence with him they preached occasionally in the Dissenting congregations of that town and neighbourhood, and two of them were ordained there" (p. 120).

Seven of these two hundred—John Aiken, D.D., Samuel Merivale, Gilbert Robinson (Edinburgh), Job Orton, D.D., Caleb Ashworth, D.D., Andrew Kippis, D.D., and William Rose were tutors. Thomas Belsham was both student and professor in Doddridge's academy. Afterwards he turned Unitarian, and wrote much in defence of those principles. "His works display great range of knowledge. He succeeded Dr. Priestley at the Gravel Pit, and afterwards removed to Essex Street Chapel,

London. Dr. Joseph Priestley, F.R.S., was educated among dissenters, but adopted Unitarian views, and ministered to a Unitarian congregation at Leeds. He advocated Socinianism. His works, written on various subjects of natural philosophy, are highly esteemed." Doddridge cannot be justly charged with these departures from orthodoxy. While some were repelled by his vivid presentation of Biblical teaching on the divinity of the Son of God, others were so attracted and confirmed in their faith and love that they became celebrated evangelists.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. MR. WILLS.

Some of the congregation who attended Castle Hill lived at Kingsthorpe. Dr. Doddridge had visited them and yielded to their request to hold an occasional cottage evening service for their edification. But others of the villagers came who usually went to church, and this was disapproved of by the Rev. Mr. Wills, their clergyman, who, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, complained bitterly of his intrusion in the parish and his sectarian ends in preaching to his people. Doddridge vindicated himself, in his reply, by referring to his uniform avoidance of all controversial subjects and restriction to the doctrines of the Gospel in his discourses. He then adds, "As for my preaching at Kingsthorpe and the neighbouring villages, I know that it is a liberty that the law permits, and I cannot imagine that either you or any other of your brethren can reasonably resent it." He reminds Mr. Wills, "that our Lord's command to preach the gospel to every creature is not limited by parochial boundaries but extends to all the world."

DR. DODDRIDGE IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

Had this correspondence ended here we should have passed it by, because all clergymen were not so opposed to village preaching by dissenters, and ceded the "Liberty of Prophesying" to their ministers; but it was only the precursor of a vexatious charge against Dr. Doddridge of keeping a school-academy, and instructing young men for the ministry or the professions without a license from the Bishop of the diocese. Nonconformist ministers were prohibited by the Five Mile Act from residing within five miles from any corporate town where they had formerly preached, or from keeping school or taking boarders, under a penalty of forty pounds.

The severity of this Act was apparently mitigated by committing its administration to the bishops in their respective dioceses, who were enabled to grant a license to anyone who satisfied them of his competency to teach the young. It appears

that Dr. Doddridge had not complied with this form, and now Dr. Reynolds, Chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough, at a meeting held at Northampton, introduced the subject by stating "that he was informed that there was a fellow in their parish who taught a grammar school, which he had the assurance to call an academy, as he supposed, without any license from the bishop."

Soon afterwards, Doddridge received a citation from Dr. Reynolds, which—after the usual preamble—proceeds, "You are cited to appear on the 6th day of November, 1733, to answer to certain articles in interrogatories to be objected and administered to you concerning your soul's health, and the reformation and correction of your manners and deeds; and especially your teaching and instructing youth in the liberal arts and sciences, and being licensed thereto by the ordinary of the diocese touching either your learning and dexterity in teaching, or your right understanding of God's true religion, or your honest and sober conversation, at the promotion of and pursuant to a certain detection or presentment exhibited against you by Thomas Rand and Benjamin Chapman, Churchwardens of All Saints, &c.—Will. Spencer."

Evidently, the intent of this process is to compel him to apply for a license, and either to submit to an examination on his competency; or on his refusal to close the academy; or, if the bishop, on his submission, did not proceed to such an examination, it would be kept in reserve in order to control his academic curriculum by making him amenable.

Lord Halifax is informed of these proceedings, and Sir Robert Walpole read a letter sent to Mr. Jacobs from Doddridge. The latter advises that the case shall be allowed to go into the Civil Courts, with which the Doctor complies. To follow the case in the ecclesiastical court would be profitless and provoking. The end of it was, not that the letter of the law was in his favour, so much as the interests of the government who required the support of dissenters, for had the trial been allowed to proceed numbers of them would have been alienated on account of the esteem and admiration in which Dr. Doddridge was held. The stand that he made against the ecclesiastical proceedings was in accordance with the wishes of a meeting of Nonconformist ministers, of which he informs Dr. Reynolds in a letter on the 29th of December, 1733. "And now, Sir, I can tell you that, after the most deliberate consideration, they unanimously agree that it is not proper or advisable for me to take up a license on any terms whatsoever, until the cause has been brought before a civil court of judicature." After stating that

he is ready to attend next Tuesday, "to receive articles of accusation or a dismission as you, Sir, upon the whole may think most proper," he adds, "I am told that other prosecutions of the same kind are now on foot, and as this is apprehended to be one of the most important, and there are some peculiar circumstances attending it, and there is no cause in which we had rather the rights of an ecclesiastical court on the one hand, and the freedom of dissenting academies on the other, should be fully, and as we hope, amicably discussed."

It was therefore brought before the Civil Court at Westminster Hall, on January 31st, 1734, and the issue is announced to Mrs. Doddridge in a letter from the Doctor, "I have just come from Westminster Hall, where our cause was gained without any opposition worth naming. The judges ordered a prohibition to be issued, which secures me from all further trouble." Thus justice prevailed, and for the future, dissenting academies and schools would be free to teach what was thought best in secular and sacred education, without the license of the bishop of the diocese. This service did Doddridge render to all Nonconformists, and it ought to be recorded to his honour. The Universities are now free to Nonconformists, but Doddridge liberated the preparatory schools.

DR. DODDRIDGE AS THE PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

The increase of the church in numbers and activity made such large demands on his time and care that he could no longer visit them nor promote their spiritual interests as he had at first proposed. Many came to hear him from the villages, and more from the town. Had he not been very methodical in all he attempted he would have failed in discharging his principal duties. Alone he was doing the service of two, and still he complains that he cannot visit his people. He must have help, and to whom could he turn but to the church itself, if he could only excite their sympathy and lead them to appoint the right men. His efforts in this respect supply us with the best accounts we have of his ability, wisdom, and influence as a leader. We shall therefore avail ourselves of the reports of the church meeting contained in our old church book.

It appears from an entry dated 1707, when the Rev. John Hunt was pastor, that *ruling elders* as well as deacons had taken part in the ministry of the church. But the whole church assembled at a public church meeting then agreed that "for weighty reasons, for the time to come, that the church shall be governed without ruling elders."

"And for preventing all disorders of the church it is agreed upon, nevertheless, that no member shall be taken in or put out without the determination of the majority of the church then present.

"Witness our hands, John Hunt, pastor, John Sanders, George Mason, Richard Pendred, Joseph Bunyan, Thomas Leaver, William Dawson, Richard Wright, John Owen, eight deacons."

On the 4th of February, 1730, at a church meeting eight persons were added to the church. These were the first fruits of Doddridge's ministry at Castle Hill. On the same occasion Mr. James Dunkley declared his desire to resign the office of deacon. This was accepted by the church, and "they unanimously chose Mr. Henry Bunyan and Mr. Benjamin Knott to succeed him and Mr. Male Manning deceased." "A most prudent choice," says Doddridge, "and as much to my satisfaction as any that could have been made." He knew how necessary it was in church life to have really capable deacons.

ELDERS CHOSEN.

On the 4th of December he records, "I proposed to the church to make choice of such persons as they should think proper *to assist me in visiting the flock and overseeing the conduct of its members.* Their nomination was referred to the next church meeting."

Thus the office of elders was restored by Doddridge with an expressive difference that they were to assist him in ministerial functions and share with him the visiting of the flock and in superintending the members of the church. They were to attend to their duties as the elders of the church at Ephesus, whom the apostle Paul charges "to take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers--bishops." The assistance of these elders was no doubt very helpful to him in visiting and shepherding the church, for in 1740 an election of elders was made "by the appointment of the Rev. Job Orton, the Rev. John Evans, and Mr. John Browne to assist the pastor in his care of this society, and having also desired Mr. Samuel Haworth, by divine providence resides at Rowell as a member of the church, to assist by his counsel and labours in the same office. They were solemnly recommended to God by prayer at the church meeting on our preparation day, February 26th, 174$\frac{0}{1}$. They then signified their compliance with the call, and after several meetings amongst themselves, with the concurrence of the pastor and deacons, did on Friday, April 3rd, 1741, present to the church

the following letter which was most thankfully received, and in consequence of which it was unanimously agreed that there be a church meeting extraordinary on Thursday, the 16th instant, held to consider the motion made by the elders and deacons in the said letter, and to proceed upon such cases of absenting members as the elders be *empowered* in the name of the church to demand the attendance of such persons in the manner they propose. And at the Lord's table on Lord's day, April 5th, 1741, the said letter was read again and the order of Friday confirmed by the unanimous consent of the church then assembled."

The elders and deacons of the church of Christ assembling on Castle Hill, in Northampton, to their brethren of the church. Greeting.

Dear Brethren, Beloved in the Lord as we are Chosen in concurrence with our Pastor to watch Over you and Serve Among you in offices relating to the Public Honour, Edification and Comfort of the Society we think it our duty to Address you with one consent on a subject which appears to us of very great importance.

You cannot but know Dear Brethren, that our Lord Jesus Christ whose servants we are, has by his Apostles Commanded his Churches that they withdraw themselves from every Brother who walketh disorderly and not According to the traditions received from them, that they mark those that cause Scandals among them and if any obey not the Word that they note that man and have no fellowship with him that he may be ashamed and that if any Brother be a Fornicator or Covetous or Railer or Drunkard or Extortioner (and upon the same Principles, if he be a Liar or one that Defrauds others) they should not eat with such a one but (Such as without be referred to the Judgment of God) they Judge those that are within and put away from themselves such wicked Persons.

These Brethren are the Precepts of Christ According to which by our entering into Church Fellowship we engaged to walk, and we apprehend that a neglect of these precepts and that Discipline in the Church of Christ which should be founded upon them is a great evil which often provokes God to withdraw from his people and hinders the Success of other Ordinances while this is neglected.

We do therefore in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ beseech you that you would attend to these precepts and would consent to proper measures for the regular Exercise of Discipline Amongst us and as we have observed that several have withdrawn themselves from the table of the Lord tho' their names Stand as Members among us, we desire the Church would take it into consideration and if it shall be found (as we fear it will) that some have withdrawn on account of such Irregularities in their Behaviour as have given Scandal and Offence we cannot think the matter ought to rest merely in their withdrawing from us, but as it is our duty as a Church Solemnly to Admonish them and where the offence has been great and publick to separate them from our Communion till God shall give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of their Sin. After which it is our undoubted Duty on a suitable time of trial with proper Declarations of their Repentance to admit them again in the Spirit of Love and rejoicing in their Recovery.

We do therefore in Concurrence with our Pastor, by whose approbation we write these things Exhort you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye enter into a Serious Disquisition of these things and advise that you appoint a day on which they may be solemnly discussed at which the members of the Church shall be present and such only at which time we the

Elders are ready to Exhibit a List of Several Persons Absenting themselves from Communion of whose cases the Church will do well to Judge that such Measures may be taken concerning them as the precepts of our Common religion Direct and we desire that the Elders may now be commissioned in the name of the Church to give notice to such persons as they shall [think] proper to attend at that meeting that if they have anything to offer in favour of themselves and their own conduct they may be heard and all due regard may be paid to their Defence they being also in the name of the Church informed that if they do not so attend their Absenting themselves without Special reason Assigned will be taken as a Confession of their being incapable of offering any excuse So that the Church will Accordingly proceed against them.

To this as our unanimous advice to the Church we have here Set our Hands that if any of us then Should be absent our approbation of these measures may be evidently declared and we pray that God may guide you in all your Deliberations and Resolutions to the glory of his name and the Honour and Edification of this Society.—April 2, 1741.

Elders.—Revs. John Evans, Job Orton, John Brown, Samuel Haworth.
Deacons.—Benjamin Knott, Henry Goode, George Mason, Edward Stephenson, Henry Bunyan, Francis Buttlin.

On Thursday, April 16th, 1741, a church meeting was held according to appointment, in which after solemn prayer the elders mentioned the cases of the following persons. These were seven in number. Three for drunkenness, one of whom was expelled, and the other two very solemnly exhorted to repent, for any repetition of the sin would be followed by their expulsion. Two were charged with having failed "whereby many of their creditors had received much detriment." One of these, on being expostulated with, instead of humbling himself, "censured the society in a very uncharitable and indecent Manner." The other had involved his family in great afflictions by his high imprudence. Both were excluded from the communion "till they gave the church those evidences of humiliation." Two others had disputed, but were reconciled and re-admitted to the communion.

And on this sad occasion the following order was unanimously agreed to by the church :—

It is the unanimous Judgment of the Church that frequent Acts of Bankruptcy which have happened in Dissenting Congregations as well as elsewhere have brought so great dishonour on Religion and occasioned so much Mischief and Reproach that we think ourselves obliged in duty to enter our public protest and caution on this Head. And we do hereby declare that if any person in stated Communion shall become a Bankrupt or as it is commonly expressed, fail in the world, he must expect to be cut off from our Body unless he do within two months give to the Church by the Elders either in word or writing such an account of his affairs as shall convince us that his fall was owing not to his Sin or Folly but to the afflicting hand of God upon him. In which case far from adding affliction to the afflicted we hope that as God shall enable us we shall be ready to vindicate, comfort and assist him as his Friends and Brethren in Christ.—Signed in the name and Presence of the Church this first day of May, 1741.

P. Doddridge, Pastor.
J. Orton S. Haworth John Brown John Evans, Elders.

Two of those whose cases were dealt with last Church Meeting on refusing to humble themselves were excluded. Another who had failed, on being expostulated with by the Elders so fully satisfied them of his deep Repentance and Sorrow for the Scandal he had caused to the Church that they admitted of his withdrawal in the hope of his recovery. Another was dealt with in the same manner. Two who had been guilty of drunkenness were excluded.

This action of the church, sad as the occasions were, furnish very clear and satisfactory evidence of their unanimity in striving to maintain its purity and honour. The pastor, elders, and deacons, as officially responsible to God and His church, are of one mind and co-operate in the investigation of moral and religious failures in members, so that the evidence laid before the church meetings would enable them to come to a just decision in respect to each case. Such unity of action and earnest desire to free themselves from all participation in their sin and bring about their reformation, is a fine evidence of Doddridge's faithfulness and great ability to guide and instruct as a Bishop or overseer of the Church of God (Acts xx., 28). He could organise as well as teach the flock. Probably in this age strong objections would be made by some to the proceedings above enjoined as too puritanic and unsuitable to the times and the higher science of natural causes, which lead to such moral failures. But these are inadmissible and inapplicable to Christians who are under the law of Christ. When there is ability by grace to obey, human science cannot assign a valid excuse for the transgressor.

A letter of instructions furnished by Dr. Doddridge to the elders of his own congregation. Some ill-informed persons had charged dissenting pastors with claiming *priestly* powers, but this is foreign to the constitution of our churches. The following letter will refute the charge :

To the Rev. Mr. Evans, the Rev. Mr. Orton, Mr. John Brown, Elders of the Church of Christ at Northampton, under my Pastoral Care together with Mr. Haworth, their associate in that good work.

These elders had desired some further advice from Dr. Doddridge on the duties of their office, and in responding to them he replies :—

I also who am an Elder, and your companion as well as leader in the service of our common Lord have thought it incumbent to comply with your request, and in doing it I shall use great plainness of speech, humbly hoping that He, in whose name I set about this work, will assist me to write what may be as a nail fixed in a sure place, and may be useful to others as well as yourselves.

I. *These duties are partly ordinary*, that is due to all the members of the church of Christ whatever their circumstances may be, and partly *peculiar* and *extraordinary* in consequence of something singular in the condition of some persons who may come under your consideration.

1st.—The great common and ordinary duty, and the foundation of all the rest is that you "visit them," for without that care it will hardly be possible to judge thoroughly of the state of religion amongst them.

For its better regulation he offers them the following advice.

1st.—Get a list of all the heads of families, at least, and of all other members of the church.

He provides them with such a list, and advises its transcription once a year.

2nd.—Let it be distributed into different classes, each class assigned to one Elder more particularly, not as the only persons you are to regard, but of those of whom you are to take the most care. To be done by mutual consent and each to write out a catalogue of them with the following notes: When last visited, memoranda of further business with them, or if too long, a little book, the articles so entered as to be easily referred to from the catalogue.

3rd.—Let the families and persons in the lists be visited as you have opportunity, the most important first, but neglecting none; make the visits as serviceable as possible—take the heads of families apart to learn how it fares with them and their families religiously, and exhort, instruct, and admonish them, as judged fit; engage them to a strict observance of family worship and the spiritual care of their children and servants.

4th.—See whether they are furnished with good books, specially with Bibles, and how the teaching of the children and servants to read is provided for.

5th.—Exhort the children and servants of the family with some short but serious exhortation, as opportunity may offer. "For the children of godly parents are the great hope of the church for future generations." They are committed to our charge, and we ought to feed the lambs of Christ.

6th.—Conclude your visits with prayer if convenient, even in the families who are most eminent in religion.

7th.—After such visits recollect their cases, pray for them, what care is to be taken of them, or any information touching their religious state as hopeful or adverse.

II.—Particular Duties of their Office.

1st.—Visit those more frequently who are under serious impressions or distress; remember *there are tender times*, and work with the Holy Spirit.

2nd.—Those that you adjudge prepared for church membership, and have not yet come to the Lord's table, visit, and exhort them to come; remove difficulties and discouragements, and inform me, that I may put their names on the list of such.

3rd.—Visit and pray with the sick, dealing seriously with them about their eternal interests. Do not stay till sent for. Go and offer your services where they will be acceptable; engage a pious neighbour to visit them also, that they may be seen every day as long as they are ill. If I am informed, and be near them, I shall always be ready to assist you.

4th.—Any under remarkable afflictions, or who have received remarkable deliverances, visit them. Those who have children to be baptized ought to be visited by an elder and admonished on the subject.

5th.—Apply directly to those whom you hear behave disorderly, and when any come to you with complaints of offence by others do not engage in the quarrel, but, according to the Lord's command, bring them together, and let the offended tenderly expostulate with the offender; but, if he will not hear, let him take two more and repeat the admonition, and let these be persons of *discretion*, *humility*, and *tenderness*. But does he still refuse, let the elder state it to the church. And as debates in church meetings are dangerous if not managed with prudence, the elders and pastor ought to be made acquainted with the facts, to take counsel together, and to pray for

further counsel and guidance of the Lord. When the scandal is public, the offender should be publicly admonished and his repentance publicly confessed.

He is evidently concerned to deal with such cases so advisedly as to reduce the process in their treatment as much as possible.

6th.—The temporal necessities of those visited ought to be noticed, the deacons informed, and the cases mutually considered.

7th.—The Elders should cultivate an intimate friendship with each other, so that they may be prepared to act together for the good of all.

8th.—As the Pastor watches over the Elders, admonishes and exhorts them, so ought they, in humility and love, to watch over him in the Lord. "And I do hereby entreat and charge you, my brethren, that if there be anything in my temper and conduct which appears to you to give just and reasonable offence, you would remind me of it, plainly and faithfully, and I hope you will always find that I shall receive advice with meekness, and endeavour to be an example to others, of a readiness to reform as God shall enable me."

He concludes with some earnest exhortations on—

(*a*) The real discharge of their duties.
(*b*) The increase of their number, if they found the work too onerous.
(*c*) Their burden which will be made lighter by God's abounding grace.

And that by ministering to others their own religious life will be quickened. "And, therefore, gird up the loins of your minds, apply with vigour to the office assigned you, and watch over your hearts and lives in such a manner that you may always be fit to engage in this service with spirit, and may that God who led Israel like a flock be with you and bless you!"

Your affectionate Brother and Fellow Labourer, and your faithful Servant for Jesus' sake, P. DODDRIDGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN HONOURS DODDRIDGE.

In 1736 the two colleges of Aberdeen University—Mareschal and Kings—each conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on Doddridge. The diplomas were forwarded to him in the usual form and acknowledged in the Doctor's best Latin. There had been a contention between the colleges on the exclusive right of one only to confer such degrees, but they appear to have been of one accord in the honour done to Dr. Doddridge, because he had become noted as a divine and a teacher. Thus while our own Universities seldom or never recognised learned dissenters the Universities of Scotland honoured themselves as well as the learned of this country, by conferring on them their highest academic honours.

DEATH OF BETSY, HIS DARLING FIRST-BORN CHILD.

1736. Dr. Doddridge's first-born child was a daughter. Its birth was hailed with joy, and it awoke in his heart all the fond yearnings of a father's love. With delight and tenderness he

watched the development of its infant graces. Already it knew how to respond to his endearments by looks and kisses. Its helplessness and innocency appealed to his protection and paternal affection.

But "lovely Betsy"—"the delight of his eyes" as he called her, was a child of great beauty and singular grace. She was intelligent beyond her years, with a temper so artless and engaging as to excite the loving interest of all about her. She was called, or called herself, "Tetsy," and when one day asked, "What made so many love her" she replied with vivacity, "Everybody loves Tetsy because Tetsy loves everybody." In his diary he says of her "She was formed to strike my affection in the most powerful manner, such a person, genius, and temper, as I admired, even beyond their real importance, so that indeed I doted upon her."

But the dread blight of our clime fell upon this tender plant, for she was taken ill of consumption at Newport, about the middle of June, and from thence to the day of her death she was his continual thought and almost uninterrupted care. He prayed, he wept, he watched over her. Hardly an hour in the day passed without his peeping in to see how she was. "One remarkable circumstance I cannot but recollect: in praying most affectionately, perhaps too earnestly for her life, these words came into my mind with great power, 'Speak no more to me of this matter.' I was unwilling to take them and went into the chamber to see my dear lamb, when instead of receiving me with her usual tenderness, she looked upon me with a stern air and said with a very remarkable determination of voice, '*I have no more to say to you,*' and I think from that time, though she lived at least ten days, she seldom looked upon me with pleasure, or cared to suffer me to come near her." Did we know all that transpires in the mind of a child, who stands between the two lives, this would be made clear. She slept in Jesus, for he wanted her, and left him to mourn her loss. Mrs. Doddridge bore it better than her husband, became stronger in faith and resignation, as his comforter and supporter.

They buried her underneath the Communion Table, that then stood in the large square pew in front of the pulpit, almost in a line between the entrance from the old vestry and the opposite side of the chapel. The Rev. Mr. Hunt preached the funeral sermon on this text "Dost thou well to be angry with the gourd?" "After the funeral, I have often," wrote Doddridge, "followed her to bed in a literal sense, and shortly shall follow her to that where we shall lie down together, and our rest shall be together in the dust. In a literal sense the grave is ready for

me. My grave is made—I have looked into it—a dear part of myself is already there ; and when I stood at the Lord's Table I stood directly over it. But O, let me not centre my thoughts even here ; it is a rest with and in God that is my ultimate hope." "This part of myself" is all that remains to us, the successors of his people. His own remains lie far away in the English cemetery at Lisbon. Shall we not call this a sacred deposit, a lingering presence of something that was his own, which with the truth he preached bind us more closely to the whole man till the day when "The Resurrection and the Life" will bring us all together in the home of God.

DR. JOB ORTON REMOVES TO THE PASTORATE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.

1741. "Our dear and Rev. brother, Mr. Job Orton, having declared his purpose of leaving us on the invitation of the united churches of Shrewsbury, was solemnly recommended to God by the prayers of the church, several hours being spent in that exercise, and then was dismissed to the said church at Shrewsbury by the following letter, signed by the Pastor in the name of the church."

"The Church of Christ assembling at Castle Hill, in Northampton, to the Church of Christ in Salop assembling.

"Dear Brethren and Friends, Beloved in the Lord,—In His providence, GOD hath seen fit to remove from us to you our Rev. and Dear Brother, Mr. Job Orton, who has for many years resided amongst us, and has of late years, with great honour and acceptance, ministered unto us, and assisted us under the office of an Elder ; though we cannot resign him without the most affectionate and tender concern and deep regret, yet, being obliged to acquiesce in the determination of the Great Head of the Church, though to us a very painful one, we think it our duty, by these letters, to dismiss him from our stated communion to yours, which accordingly we hereby do : heartily blessing GOD for all the advantages we have enjoyed by his ministry and presence, and earnestly praying that his labours may not only be highly acceptable and delightful to you, as we are persuaded they must be, but that they may be crowned with abundant success. We cannot doubt that your conduct to him will be so obliging and affectionate as abundantly to demonstrate the sense you have of the singular favour of Providence to you in sending among you so able, faithful, and so zealous a labourer,

and we earnestly desire your prayers for us that GOD may make up to us, by His immediate presence and blessing, the unspeakable and otherwise irreparable loss which we sustain by his removal.

"Signed by the unanimous direction of the Church at their Church Meeting, October 1st, 1741, in the name of this whole Society, "P. DODDRIDGE."

The sorrow of the church on the removal of the Rev. Job Orton is sincerely expressed in the above church act and letter of dismissal as a very painful duty, because it was a great loss to Dr. Doddridge, whose able assistant and substitute he was in his absence. Whatever he did was well done, and carried the approval of all with it; and to the church as great a loss, not only on account of the faithful discharge of his every duty as an elder and assistant minister, but from his evident piety, goodness, and kindness to the members of the church and congregation. The character of Doddridge had made him so great an admirer, that he shared the same zeal and activity for the edification of all about him. Dr. Job Orton's presence in the pulpit contented the church when Dr. Doddridge was absent. He had neither the same versatility nor the great sympathy that touched everyone, but he had his single-mindedness, love of the church, and untiring devotion to its interests.

"At a Church Meeting, December 8th, 1740, it was resolved *nem. contra.* that the Rev. Mr. Thomas Brabant be desired, in the name of the Church to take upon him the office of an Elder, and that the Pastor and the other Elders be desired to acquaint him with this request of the Church."

The following is also an evidence of the practical employment of available helpers in church work found among the students:

"Also that the Pastor be empowered, in the name of the Church, to request it of the preaching students under his care, in stated or occasional communion with the Church, that they will please to assist the Pastor and Elders in visiting the sick and others who may need their advice and assistance, in which visits they are, in virtue of this motion, to be considered as messengers of the Church."

At a Church Meeting, February 2nd, $174\frac{8}{9}$—

"After several hours spent in prayer for divine direction at the vestry in the morning, and some further time in the afternoon, the Church chose Mr. John Harms to the office of an Elder, and desired the Rev. Mr. Robertson and Mr. Rudsdell to assist him and the other Elders.

Mr. HOLMES, Messrs. HARMS and W. BUTLIN,
Trustees of Charity School."

A SAD RETROSPECT OF SOME PAST YEARS.

The following remarks by Dr. Doddridge on a review of the decrease of church members, from 1747, is to us a striking evidence of his unabated devotion to the great end of his ministry.

"Some remarks which have occurred to me on the state of the Church since January 1st, 1747, which I note for the instruction of any future pastor.

"At the time above mentioned I took a review of the number of church members, which I found more decreased since March, 1745, than I ever knew it to be in double that time, for I found that since that time we have received only fifteen members and have lost seventeen, and of these twelve have died or removed this last year, and only eight of the fifteen have been admitted this year, so that our decrease since March, 1745, is seven, and since this time twelve-month, on the whole, fourteen; a very discouraging circumstance, especially considering how much I have abounded in exhortations at the Lord's Table during the last year.

"N.B.—The omission of the names of three, since recollected, who were admitted in 1746, made the state of affairs appear more melancholy than I afterwards found it to be."

The evidence of the above is on the negative side, but it serves to show how he had prayed and laboured for the salvation of his flock, and with what eminent success he was blessed, so that an apparent decrease in the number is grievous. This is a light from within on the character of his ministry that lifts it above the judgment of mere observers. "He being dead yet speaketh" to all coming successors.

THE MORAVIANS.

In a letter to the Rev. S. Clarke, D.D., Dr. Doddridge gives him a full account of what he had learned about Count Zinzendorf, corresponding upon the whole with what has been already written of his reception and establishment of the Brethren as a community at Herrnhutt. The Latin text is given with translations of other letters, the first from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Count Zinzendorf; the second by the latter to Dr. Doddridge. In this he gives an account of the great missionary work in which he and the Brethren are engaged in different parts of the world. It appears from another letter to the Rev. Nathaniel Wood, D.D., from Dr. Doddridge, that three hundred preachers had been sent out to the West Indies, United States, Berbice, Surinam, ten Indian tribes in Virginia, Ceylon, Lapland, Russia, Constantinople,

captive Africans, Guinea, and afterwards to Greenland and Labrador. In addition to these we know that a party of missionaries preached Christ in many cities, towns, and villages of the three kingdoms. Congregations were gathered in a number of these, and the revival of true religion was similar to that which attended the preaching of the Wesleys, Whitfield, and their associates. But as the Moravians had been recognised by Archbishop Potter, and by two Acts of Parliament as an ancient episcopal church, they thought they were bound to co-operate with the Church of England, and to avoid all seeming dissenting opposition. Whether this ultimately promoted their prosperity has been questioned, but of this they ought to be the best judges. As the Moravian missions have filled a foremost place in the history of missions, their origin is of great interest. Like many similar evangelistic movements its beginning was very limited both in number and support. Count Zinzendorf heard of the miserable ignorance of the slaves in the West Indies and he reported it at home. The Rev. Bishop J. England tells me "That it was a private matter between two or three, and that *at first* the congregation at Herrnhutt did not favour the proposal at all, quite the contrary. Nor is there any uncertainty about the two men who went forth in the name of Christ, on their own responsibility, worked their passage to the West Indies, and opened a door which the "gates of Hades have not been able to shut."

Bedford became a centre for these itinerants, and Northampton was visited. Those who were attracted by their preaching "held their meetings in their own houses both on Sundays and week-days, and were generally attended by great numbers of serious, attentive, and affected hearers on the Sundays." Members of the Church and Nonconformists were among them. Dr. Doddridge and the Rev. James Hervey, Weston Favel, were intimate and sympathetic friends. Brother Gussenbauer was one of their earliest resident ministers, and he was succeeded by Brother W. Hammond.

Dr. Doddridge was an early associate of the Society for the furtherance of the Gospel. Of this he was chosen a corresponding member, and advised of it in a letter from Benjamin Ingham, with Dr. Spangenberg's salutation. His reply was cordial, and he adds, "I did to-day at our church meeting publickly report some important facts received from Mr. Hutton as to the success of our dear Moravians and their associates."

Some of the church members at Castle Hill were among the regular attendants at the Moravian services, and afterwards

joined the congregation. This was painful to Dr. Doddridge, for they were highly esteemed members at Castle Hill. Most of us have seen similar phases of Christian life and manners. When the Plymouth Brethren appeared among us they attracted a class of pious people. The peculiar views, forms of worship and simple expository discourses of the Moravians were either better adapted to the edification, or more attractive to the religious tastes and habits of such members of other churches; or their clear, simple and forcible manner of preaching the gospel won some who till then had remained less spiritually minded. Paul and Apollos had their respective followers at Corinth. Possibly Doddridge had had small experience of the loss of church members, and therefore felt it the more. Yet it would have passed off, as such things usually do, without estranging Doddridge from the Moravian ministers. "But an evil-minded man called Mason was at this time the means of injuring, though not of destroying, the friendly relations between the Brethren and Dr. Doddridge, but he received such a castigation from Brother Hutton, for gossiping against the church in things that were false, which he could not think to be true, yet spreading them as if they were true, as made him quail, acknowledge his fault, profess repentance and beseech the prayers of the Brethren." The Moravians had to suffer much from such traducers. Their German origin, church organisation, choirs, love-feasts, separation of the sexes in worship, and other peculiarities provoked the opposition of many who misunderstood them. But they patiently suffered on till they lived it down, and proved the apostolic simplicity of their faith to the nation, by their evangelistic work at home and abroad, and their educational services.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, THE PRETENDER.

1745. A great crisis about this time seemed imminent to those who could read the signs of the times. While on the one hand there was unusual activity among Non-jurors and Jacobites, with foreign priests visiting suspected families, on the other hand the mass of the people were either apathetic or disloyal to King George II. Though he sought to maintain the constitution, his court was notorious for its profligacy. A change would gratify many. Such a state of affairs was favourable to the bold attempts of the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, who had been well posted up by his emissaries; and probably led him to think that he had only to land at the head of a small army to bring about a revolution in his favour. But neither his own family nor Louis was favourable to the

enterprise, and he had to depend on his friends and his own resources. These, with what he could borrow, would hardly suffice to fit out two ships, one the *Elizabeth*, of fifty-eight guns, the other the *Bontelle* of twenty-eight, but a faster sailer. The former contained arms and ammunition and other stores for the war, and the latter received himself and his few devoted followers. However, they were met by a British ship of war—the *Lion*—that attacked the *Elizabeth* and so disabled her that she at once retreated to France. In the meantime the *Bontelle* pursued her course to Moidart, in the Western Isles, and there on his landing *Prince* Charlie, or the Chevalier, as he was named, was received by only seven of his supporters, or as they were called "the seven of Moidart." But this miserable reception did not daunt Charles Edward. He was young, handsome, of princely bearing, and of captivating manners, and he knew how to win friends by smiles and condescension. But though brave and romantic he was not a leader of men, and had to depend on the more experienced Highland chieftains for the conduct of the war. At last at the head of 1,600 men he made his advance on Perth, where he was well received, and afterwards to Edinburgh, which was easily taken, and the Palace of Holyrood received the last of the Stuarts. Here he held his court, and his enthusiastic subjects rendered him all the honours due to James VIII., as he was proclaimed. Drummond, the titular Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray had joined him, but the castle was still held by the King's troops. The Chevalier's forces now increased, and a much needed supply of 1,000 muskets sent by France, was received with some money still more needed. Charles was impatient to advance on London, for he anticipated a large addition to his forces by the way.

Sir John Cope, who commanded 2,200 foot advanced from Dunbar and prepared to give him battle at Preston Pans. The armies were separated by a large morass through which no path was visible. But the Highlanders, finding that there was a footway, resolved on a night attack. For this the English were neither prepared nor suspicious. Taken by surprise and utterly routed by the wild onset of the clansmen, only 170 escaped. Colonel Gardiner, who was in command, was mortally wounded while endeavouring to rally the troops. Evidently Sir John Cope was not the right leader. Colonel Gardiner's death was a great loss to the army, the church and his friends. When the intelligence reached Northampton there was mourning at Castle Hill. The pew he generally occupied was to the left of the entrance by the vestry door, and at the

Sunday service many a tearful eye was turned to the vacant seat, many a sympathetic heart felt deeply for the widow and her children and many a thanksgiving was offered to God that his death was that of a true soldier and servant of Jesus Christ who had fallen in the faithful discharge of his duty to his king and country. What Doddridge felt that day was known only to himself. Colonel Gardiner had been to him a most convincing evidence of the power of Christ to save to the uttermost, and of the sufficiency of His grace to sustain and keep His own through all the temptations to which they were specially exposed. And then he had been a brother in affection and a ripe Christian, with whom he could converse on the highest themes.

The progress of the Pretender in Scotland excited Dr. Doddridge's anxiety, and he lost no time in writing a pressing letter to the Earl of Halifax, and suggested the necessity of making all possible preparations to arrest his progress to London. The Earl replied, and while fully concurring with him, said he had taken time in considering the contents of his letter, and approved of the hearty zeal which he had so warmly expressed for the defence of our religion, liberty, and the present happy (civil) establishment. But to direct it in such a channel as may prove most useful, "to the public cause and best suit the inclinations of the government, which on such an occasion as this must necessarily be consulted; or the most loyal and zealous subjects of His Majesty may chance to meet with an awkward return for their proffered service." He also says, "I had for some days before I received your letter been deliberating in what manner I could prove most useful to my country, and had at last resolved to offer my services to His Majesty, with a proposal of my endeavours to raise a regiment in and about Northampton; which, with the assistance of the neighbouring gentlemen, whose affection to His Majesty's person and government I thought I might adventure to rely upon, I had no reason to doubt might be soon completed." While this letter reflects the loyalty of the Earl of Halifax, at the same time it betrays doubt or uncertainty about the attitude and intentions of the government in regard to the Pretender and his supporters. He is, therefore, inclined to wait till he receives information of what has been determined upon before he proceeds to action. He intends to return to Horton on Sunday night, and invites the Doctor to dine with him there.

A meeting was held at Northampton. There was a large assembly of gentlemen at the George Hotel. Doddridge was present, and gives an account of the proceedings in a

circular, addressed no doubt to others who were not present. He relates "that the Earl of Halifax, in a very eloquent and animated speech, represented the alarming situation of public affairs, and the absolute necessity of our exerting ourselves in the most immediate and strenuous manner for the support of our religion and liberties." He then proposed "that a paper should be signed by every gentleman present, expressing in a few strongly-expressed words our detestation of the present unnatural rebellion and our inviolable attachment to His Majesty's person; and particularly, if we were properly empowered by His Majesty, we were ready to exert ourselves to the utmost to raise and maintain a body of forces in and about Northampton to be employed in the defence of the common cause, under such officers as His Majesty should be pleased to appoint." Doddridge adds "His lordship would bear this to the King next morning, speedily return with the commission, and hoped that a thousand men will quickly be enlisted and enter on their exercise in a few days." After referring to the place, time, and remuneration for their service, he adds "I had taken care to engage about fourteen or sixteen of the leading persons in my congregation to join with me in desiring his lordship to make this proposal; and in concurrence with them, endeavour to engage the names of as large a number as I can who may be willing to promote the design, either by their contribution or their personal service. Circulars are sent out to all dissenting ministers in the neighbourhood to engage them to do the like, and I hope in consequence to have a large body of men present in a few days to receive the arms provided by the government and to enter upon their exercise. I believe they will do credit to the undertaking." Thus was Doddridge associated with the loyalists of the county in preparing to resist the invader. The Government was also better prepared. Loyal addresses and liberal supplies were voted; the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended. General Wade had 10,000 men under his command at Newcastle, but Charles prudently preferred Cumberland for his line of march to avoid Wade, and better to please the Highlanders. The garrison at Carlisle delivered up their arms and retired. The rebel army, divided into two columns, advanced by Preston to Manchester, where the Chevalier was enthusiastically received, and 200 English joined his forces.

The Duke of Cumberland, who was halting at Stafford, wrote to General Wade on December 4th, and said "From hence we shall march without any halt to Northampton, where we hope to give them battle." Charles advanced on Derby, by which he evaded the royal army. When this was known in London t

produced a panic, and that day was afterwards called the Black Friday. The King was alarmed, but there was neither an English rising nor a French invasion. When Murray, the commander of the rebel forces, heard of all the preparations made for the reception of the Pretender, he could not be persuaded to advance any further, but ordered a retreat to Scotland. It was commenced without delay, and soon became almost a flight. They plundered the inhabitants and took whatever suited them. The Duke of Cumberland pursued them into Scotland, where they made a stand at Falkirk, but after the battle retreated to Inverness. Another battle, more decisive than the last, was fought at Culloden by the royal army, followed by ruthless slaughter All the Highlanders deserted Charles, and, to escape, he betook himself to the mountains and peat-bogs. One faithful and devoted friend never forsook him, and did all she could to find him food and watch by him in his sleeping hours. Flora Macdonald was ready to lay down her life to save his. At last he reached the coast, found a vessel, and sailed to France. Nothing more was heard of him but what would be sad to relate. His failure to recover the throne was infinitely better for Great Britain. The Stewarts in Charles VIII. would have restored arbitrary rule and re-established the Church of Rome. God heard our cry and wrought deliverance for us.

Nor should it be forgotten that this deliverance was instrumentally wrought through the loyalty of the Nonconformists. The House of Hanover did not command our enthusiastic support. They were far from puritan in their life and manners, but they had two minor virtues—they respected our institutions and let us develop our liberty in our own way. Religious persecution hardly found a place in their policy. From the part taken by Dr. Doddridge in preparing to arrest the advance of the Pretender he evidently had taken a statesman's view of all that would have been lost to religion—liberty and national prosperity—by his success, for he would have been kept on the throne by a French and Irish army, and been a royal pensioner on the bounty of Louis XIV. Doddridge, therefore, grasped the situation and did his part towards driving back the invader. England, in 1688, had decided that no Stewart should ever sit upon her throne, and it was one of the wisest acts she has ever done.

"Northampton enthusiastically celebrated the anniversary of this double deliverance with processions, public worship, great bonfires in the evening—of which one of the largest was in front of the Academy—and illuminations, fireworks, with all other demonstrations of joy and harmony among loyal Protestants." ("Mercury," November 12th, 1744).

COUNTY INFIRMARY FOUNDED.

Dr., afterwards Sir James Stonehouse, M.D., came to reside at Northampton in 1743, and followed his profession as a physician. He had graduated at Oxford. Eventually he was twice married, and the second time to Miss Ekins, a young lady of fortune, and for some years a ward of Dr. Doddridge. Brilliant, and somewhat eccentric in his manners, he soon became popular, and had Dr. Doddridge amongst his chief friends. But this was more owing to his opinions than his profession. He had studied abroad, and very likely adopted the sceptical notions on religion then fashionable in Holland, and went so far in their defence as to publish a book, which was twice reprinted. Hence, by many, he was shunned as a dangerous associate. But Doddridge cultivated his friendship to win him for Christ. He won his esteem, in their frequent conversations, and gently answered his objections, and presented the religion of Jesus on its most attractive side—its moral perfection, its benevolence, its simple faith and heavenly love, which, when embraced with all the heart, contented the conscience, and filled the soul with the love of others. As a physician's profession brought him into closest touch with all classes, and some more diseased in mind than in body, he was specially sensitive, for he had naturally a kind heart, and was, therefore, attracted to the Great Physician who went about healing the spiritual as well as the bodily diseases of the many. He went to Castle Hill to hear the Doctor preach, read his sermons on the Evidences of Christianity, and, though a professed Churchman, received from the mouth and pen of a dissenter the truth that saves.

Now, the many cases he met among the suffering poor, who, in addition to their physical pains, had to bear the privations of extreme poverty with the absence of every comfort, moved his deepest sympathy, and he began to meditate on the possibility of founding a hospital for Northamptonshire, such as had been recently opened at Winchester and some other of the larger towns to meet the wants of such sufferers, not only with the most skilful medical advice and the best medicine, but all the appliances of a middle-class home, excellent food, and the constant attendance of trained nurses. In all this, Dr. Doddridge was with him, encouraged him, and when he devised the scheme of the several buildings, gave him much of his time and help in their arrangements. In a letter to Dr. Akenside, author of the "Pleasures of Imagination," who proposed to settle in Northampton, he informs him of the relations in which he stood with Dr. Stonehouse: "The intimacy which has subsisted

for several months between Dr. Stonehouse and myself, the confidence which that generous and worthy man has reposed in me in matters of the highest importance, his readiness not only to oblige me by all the offices of politeness in common life, but also to favour with his constant attendance, gratis, many very worthy though indigent persons whom I recommended to his care, beside the obligation which our *town and county owes to him as the founder of our Infirmary*--for such indeed he is—are all considerations which unite me to him in bonds which I shall ever hold sacred." An attempt was made to exclude him from the Infirmary, on account of his opinions, but failed through the great influence of Doddridge and another friend.

In 1744 Doddridge excuses his delay in answering Dr. Clarke, among other things, with "The care of attending to the affairs of the hospital, which to this day press hard upon me, as Dr. Stonehouse will hardly do anything without me." After Dr. Stonehouse left Northampton, "he became so impressed with the importance of the pastoral office that he relinquished his extensive medical practice and took orders in the Church. He was preferred to the Lectureship of All Saints, Bristol, where he became as popular for his eloquence as a preacher as he had been at Northampton for his skill as a physician."

But there was another potent friend of the Infirmary—the Earl of Halifax—who brought his great influence to bear in his application to the nobility and gentry for their subscriptions, and his personal assistance to Dr. Stonehouse in the maturing of his plans.

All this is set forth in an election address in the form of queries, the sixth of which thus strikingly concludes--

"And hear this, O ye Protestant Dissenters! Who was it that inserted and established that rule for the benefit of the people of your denomination, viz., 'That they should have full liberty to receive the visits and the counsels and prayers of your own ministers without the least interruption or insult?' Have you quite forgot this friendship to your distressed brethren?" This was probably printed in the great election of 1768, in which the Earl of Halifax was deeply interested—the Earl with whom Dr. Doddridge used his best efforts to drive back Prince Charles the Pretender, and who induced Sir Robert Walpole to deliver him from episcopal oppression.

For the remainder of his life Dr. Doddridge continued to promote the interests of the Infirmary among his friends, and by preaching a discourse in which he eloquently advocated its claims. This was published in the annual report, and still retains its place among the sermons for the Infirmary.

REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A., AND DR. DODDRIDGE.

The Rev. John Wesley, M.A., had written to Doddridge about a selection of books he wanted to make for the use of young preachers of the Society. They were principally to be of *practical* divinity.

On replying Doddridge apologises for the delay of his answer. Pressing business had constantly occupied him—with a ten days' fever, from the effects of which he had imperfectly recovered.

Now he is able to supply him with a list of those he can best recommend. These are under different leading heads, as "Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Jewish Antiquities, Civil History, Ecclesiastical History, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Proofs of Natural and Revealed Religion."

Practical divinity is well represented and among these the chief place is assigned to the divines of the Church of England. Archbishop Leighton closes them as *omni laude major*. Indeed, we may freely add the post-Reformation works of the Episcopal Church are unsurpassed by those of any other national church. Such writers as Hooker, Taylor, and Butler are very rare outside of England.

Commentaries.—Of these he mentions a great number, and then excuses himself by saying, "But perhaps, Sir, you will think that as the critical study of Scripture is not so much intended in your plan, I have gone a little out of my way in mentioning so many authorities upon this head, yet if you think so, you will excuse me, for, perhaps, when young people are accustomed to that attention of thought which sacred criticism requires, it may answer a good end in leading them into the true sense and beauty of particular passages of scripture, in consequence of which their own taste may be greatly improved."

This reference is also valuable as a proof of the candour with which he speaks of those from whom he widely differs. "I dare say, Sir, you will not by any means imagine that I mean to recommend the particular notions of all the writers I have here mentioned, which may, indeed, sufficiently appear from their absolute contrariety to each other in a multitude of instances; but I think that in order to *defend the truth*, it is very proper that a young minister should know the chief strength of error." "It only remains that I most cordially recommend you and your labours to the continual presence and blessing of God, sincerely wishing that you may be honoured more and more as an instrument in the hand of the great Redeemer, for the

salvation of a multitude of those precious souls whom he has ransomed with his own blood."

Wesley and Doddridge are not quite agreed on every debated point, but on the great verities, especially those on whose belief salvation depends, they are one. While with one voice they proclaim "that without faith it is impossible to please God," with as great unity they proclaim "that without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Doddridge's life is approaching its close, Wesley's is yet in its prime of service. The great evangelist takes counsel with the ripe theologian, and asks of him some of his stores for the young men who, like the seventy, are going everywhere to preach Christ to the people, and without stint he mentions a library of the best, the study of which will make them able theologians and defenders of the faith.

On July 29, 1746, he again wrote to Mr. Wesley, saying, "I am truly glad that the long letter I last sent to you was agreeable to you. I bless my God that my prejudices against the writers of the establishment were so easily removed. And I rejoice greatly when I see that prejudices against the brethren of any denomination have likewise subsided in those whom, upon other accounts, I most highly esteem as the excellent of the earth, and that we are coming nearer to the harmony in which I hope we shall ever be one in Christ Jesus." Thus these captains of the Lord's army meet, converse about the war with Satan and sin, and part in the love and the hope of all true Christians "coming nearer," of whose realization we are now more hopeful.

COMPREHENSION.

1748. Dr. Chandler's chapel, Old Jewry, was closed for repairs and he visited Norwich. There he heard the Bishop give a charge to the clergy, which he did not think very candid, for he stated "that the heads of the rebellion were Presbyterians." After Dr. Chandler's return to London he wrote to Dr. Gooch, complaining of this charge, and particularly of the above expression. Dr. Gooch replied civilly, and invited a visit. When they met they talked of Comprehension also. Dr. Sherlock, bishop of Salisbury, was present at another interview, and when the subject was introduced, said, "Our church consists of three parts—doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies." Of the last he said, "They ought to be left indifferent, as they are agreed on all hands to be. Our discipline is so bad that no one knows how or where to mend. As to the first, what is your objection?" "Your articles, my lord, ought to be expressed in scripture language, and the Athanasian Creed discarded." Both bishops agreed to the

latter, and they did not object to restoring the articles to scripture words. "None of us," said Dr. Chandler, "would renounce his Presbyterian ordination," but he would admit the bishops putting their hands on them. Would not the latter imply that the laying on the hands of the presbyters required the putting on of the bishops' hands for the completion of validity of the ordination? But, let us remember that the opinion of two liberal bishops is not that of the episcopate.

Dr. Doddridge was favoured by an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, on August 2nd, 1748. "His reception by his grace was in a very obliging manner." "I sat," he says, "a full hour with him alone, and had as free a conversation as I could have desired. It turned on Archbishop Leighton, on the Rebellion, on the late debates in the House of Lords about the Scots Nonjuring clergy, and, especially, on the affair of a Comprehension; concerning which I very evidently perceived that though his grace has most candid sentiments of the dissenting brethren, *yet he has no zeal for attempting anything in order to introduce them into the church*, wisely foreseeing the difficulties with which it might be attended; but when I mentioned to him (in the freedom of our discourse) a sort of a medium between the present state and that of a perfect coalition, which was that of acknowledging our churches as unschismatical, by permitting their clergy to officiate among us, if desired, which he must see has a counterpart of permitting dissenting ministers occasionally to officiate in churches, it struck him much as a new and very important thought, and he told me, more than once, that I had suggested what he should lay up in his mind for further consideration." It does not appear that the Archbishop arranged with Dr. Doddridge for another interview and the renewed discussion of this topic. It is evident that he regarded the preventions to Comprehension as insuperable, and though willing favourably to entertain the *raprochment* proposed by Dr. Doddridge, so far as to give it further consideration, he did not commit himself to anything definite. At that time High-Church views on *Apostolic Succession* and the exclusive rights conferred by *holy orders* were not so zealously maintained as at present, and yet the difficulties attending it armed the Archbishop with great caution; how much greater have they become by the advance of ritualism and sacerdotalism! Presbyterian and Nonconformist ordinations are no longer admitted as of any validity. They are, in fact, considered human inventions, and therefore ought not to be sanctioned in any sacramental function. It is very pleasant to converse fraternally on union and Comprehension and exchange of pulpits at Evangelical Alliance meet-

ings and Swiss conferences, for they express a growing conviction, amongst those who desire to be ministers and brethren "not of the letter but of the spirit," that our relations will not bear the full light of apostolic teaching and the love of Christ as the bond of union. But let us pray for, suffer for, and labour for the time when we shall be freely one in Christ Jesus, as we now are in faith, heart, and life. Evidently, as long as one body of Christian ministers believe that the Holy Spirit has communicated special spiritual gifts to them for the discharge of their functions, which are not possessed by others unless ordained in the same manner, their relations are and must be strained and doubtful. They cannot be really united so long as these continue.

If they come together in seeming unity it is at the expense of the more privileged. He surrenders a claim, recognises an equality, which he holds, as an episcopalian, does not and cannot exist without episcopal ordination. He has something to bestow of which the other is destitute. Not to hold this is virtually to reduce episcopal ordination to no more than presbyterian.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The remaining years of his life and ministry flowed on peacefully. No great events in church or state excited his fears of a second attempt of the Pretender on the stability of the throne. His health began to suffer, and the pulmonary consumption of which he died began to cast its dark shadow before. But he did not relax his toils or allow himself a long vacation to recover lost energy. His "Family Expositor" was still incomplete. A third volume would soon appear, but a fourth must follow for its completion. To this he could devote only a few hours every day. The golden hours had to be given to his students and his pastoral duties.

But there was another branch of his ministry to which hours of his sleep had often to be given. His correspondence and diary, edited by his great grandson John Doddridge Humphrey, in five volumes, which I have perused, I must include in his ministry. First, because of the great social, moral, and religious effects produced in the minds and hearts of the recipients of his letters. Here also he is an evangelist. Seldom or never does he divest himself of his natural gaiety and good humour. They are only his salutations on entering the home of his friends, but, at the quiet hearth soon lead on to brotherly talk excited by earnest enquiries about all that interests or troubles. He rejoices in their prosperity, mourns their adversities. In an age when evangelical piety was at a discount and

many were afraid to introduce a serious topic, these messengers of light, entering a household, read and re-read by the seniors, juniors, and intimate friends excited great interest. They could see him, hear him almost respond in the vibrations of his great heart. Perhaps, too, it had come at a time when most needed to warn, to comfort, to cheer, or call back the wandering footsteps to God and reconciliation. It is true they are wanting in literary finish, in classical diction, but as they are the utterances of the heart these refinements would have diverted the attention and made them artificial rather than real. He wishes God to speak by him, and therefore he is natural, simple, and effective. Genuine affection does not polish its phrases. The men who have done most good by their epistles are of the same class. He does not conceal his own sorrows and trials, but tells his friend of them as if he sat by his side at home and touched his knee. In addition to these benevolent effects of his letters, they provide a mirror which reflects the character of both correspondents. As they are private and confidential there is, at least, on his part no reserve in the expression of his thoughts. He writes them as they come, so that we learn his sincerity and whole-hearted interest in his correspondent. He is not faultless, but the defects are so trivial and harmless that they only serve to show his freedom of utterance. Hence his letters supply photographs which are as admirable as true to nature.

On the other side he permits us to see in the same mirror many portraits of Christian ladies and gentlemen of whom we are glad to learn so much that is good and admirable. They belong to all classes and nearly all communions and professions. Yet charmed with the catholic spirit and Christian benevolence of Doddridge, they seem to forget variations of doctrine and ceremonial in their fraternal replies. Thus private telegraph lines are laid which run above all forms and happily prove that the church of Christ cannot be confined within denominational landmarks. One day they will disappear, when the full answer of the Lord's prayer comes, as it must do, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word. That they all may be one ; as Thou Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us ; *that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me.*" No one church is contemplated here, but all Christian churches in their real unity. Doddridge and all like him anticipate and prepare for its advent by the catholicity of heart and life which recognizes a brother by whatever name he is called. The visible Church is thus known by its fruits.

In his diary, "Reflections on the beginning of the year 1747," Doddridge pointedly refers to his correspondence—"God has also been pleased to give me some tokens of uncommon respect from persons of rank and distinction, particularly the good Bishops of Gloucester and Bristol, and some other clergymen of the establishment, Lord Halifax, and some of our gentlemen in these parts, besides several letters which I have received, giving me an account of the blessing which God had been pleased in several instances to bestow upon my writings, and especially upon the 'Rise and Progress of Religion.' Nor must I reckon amongst the smallest of my mercies the opportunities I have had of seeing how eminently He has blessed the labours of the good Mr. Fawcett, and with what an abundant anointing of the Holy Spirit God has been pleased to honour him, in consequence of which I can truly say, I should think all my labours as a tutor well repaid to have been instrumental in raising up but one such person to the service of the sanctuary: for all these things I praise and adore a gracious God, and desire to erect a monument of humble thankfulness." One of these, the Rev. Risdon Darracott, settled at Wellington, Somerset. He became a distinguished evangelist, promoter of education, and untiring reviver of higher life in the churches. He was called the Star of the West, and to the people appeared as if burning with zeal for the conversion of his hearers. At a later period he visited Brixworth to preach to the people, but was furiously attacked by a mob, and the windows of the house broken. Some of these were severely punished. Darracott died prematurely from his excessive devotion to the good of others.

The letters to and from Mrs. Doddridge are voluminous and of great value, for they contain the history of the times, his vacations of the Church and academy in his absence. They abound in expressions of deepest affection, and are sometimes playful and humorous, sometimes grave and edifying, but never frivolous. His visits to old friends and new, his receptions and entertainments by the distinguished, his many sermons, in which he pleads for education and preaches Christ crucified to overflowing congregations, are all recorded. I remember the late Rev. James Parsons, of York, told us how much his people at one time complained of his going to preach to other churches to their own great loss. He replied by showing them a list of fifty persons who had been converted in one year by these visits. They complained no more after hearing this. In fact, this was also Doddridge's evangelistic work. Thousands every year heard him to their great joy and profit. Then, after the

close application to his ministry at home, teaching and writing during the other months of the year, change was necessary to restore his strength and refresh his heart and soul in the homes of loving friends, and free intercourse with some of the best and wisest in the land.

But Mrs. Doddridge keeps the house as the general manager, tells him all the news about the Church and the family, so that he finds repose from disturbing cares and fears—gives him a photographic picture of all that is going on, and he is at home as he reads. We have seen Mrs. Doddridge's family accounts. Sometimes the items are very diverse—as a satin robe for herself, and a pair of boots for her son. Verily she was a domestic economist, who entered what was done with every penny. She is Solomon's "virtuous woman; her price is far above rubies. She does her husband good, and not evil all the days of her life." We remember their loving engagements to one another before marriage, and after twenty years crowded with most various duties, some great sorrows and some great joys, there she stands by his bedside at Lisbon, when his last look of love rests upon her, and he departs blessing her. She was faithful unto death, had made him a splendid wife, and now shares with him the glory and reward which she equally deserved, for they were one in heart and in service.

The correspondence is too voluminous either to epitomize or analyze. It ought to be read by all who wish to learn the extent and eminently evangelistic power of Doddridge's influence. He "sowed beside all waters," and specially in the ground whose depth gave promise of many succeeding harvests, and whose "knowledge would be the stability of their times."

Yet we cannot omit one of his correspondents to whom he was so closely bound that their friendship seemed far above the casualties of time or variations of health and fortune. On high like that of Jonathan and David, even the right to a throne would not be disputed. It is another proof of immortality. The name of Dr. Samuel Clarke, Congregational minister, St. Albans, is mentioned with admiration and reverence. He was the friend of Doddridge's age as well as his youth, and whose intimate knowledge gathered up all the sad and joyful phases of his life, of his mental and moral growth, and hoarded samples of all the excellent fruit of a mind he had assisted to culture. He was the author of a work on "The Promises," once well known, which has been instructive and helpful to many. From his letters he inherited much of the grit of a spiritual ironside. Very careful in forming his opinions, and as consistent in maintaining them, he could calmly

witness and estimate the value of the philosophic and ethical novelties of the age, and "let them have their little day," for he knew that the "pure river of the water of life" would resume its onward course as if it had never been disturbed by an obtruding boulder.

He had been a father to young Doddridge when he most needed one, and got so much into the habit of doing a father's part that he hardly knew where to end, for he reviews his works, suggests improvements, and points out deficiences in general, helps the author through the press with them, so that he is better satisfied that they will escape the merciless detections of the reviewers. He had not the advantage of writing on a subject of which little was known, and, therefore, felt nervous and anxious about the reception of works which were open to the criticism of thousands. But Dr. Clarke stands like a stable rock between him and them, and lets nothing pass except what will commend itself to the approval of the lovers of truth.

The great good that he did by his letters ought, therefore, to be reckoned up in his ministry, and the time spent over it faithfully employed. All his letters have not been published; numbers must have been withheld, in which his trials as a tutor from the waywardness and intractableness of his students, or the unseasonableness or unreasonableness of the complaints of their parents and friends were detailed. Touching this we find in his Reflections in the beginning of the year 1747, the following sad passage:—"God has suffered a great many enemies to arise and to persecute me this year, more than I have commonly known, at least, I have traced more of the effects of this evil. My brethren have dealt most deceitfully and unjustly with me, and have been far more solicitous to blast my name and to ruin my capacity for usefulness than to do any kind of good; they have so far succeeded that other academies have flourished, not so much for their merit as from their opposition to mine; and some hopeful youths have been, by the credulity of their parents, and slanderous tongues, deprived of the benefit they might have found by instructions here, so that I have been deprived of the pleasure and credit of training them up. M. L., alas! of whom I had good hopes, is gone into secular life. Mr. T.'s foul miscarriages I must reckon among my academical sorrows."

Dr. Doddridge had been pronounced in his opposition to the Pretender. He was therefore disliked by Nonjurors and Jacobites. They would indulge in sharp speeches, and when destitute of facts draw upon "evil surmises" and

unjustifiable conclusions. Others, again, could not condone his dogmatic silence, or avoidance of clear deliverances on cardinal doctrines; and others again, who believed that unnatural sombreness, sourness, and avoidance of joyousness in conversation and manner were necessary to true religion, could not imagine how one so bright, so pleasant, so fascinating in conversation could have pure and undefiled religion as his companion. The attack upon his honour and other evidences given of being disliked when he desired to be a blessing to all and hated of none, must have been a furnace to a man of such unlimited benevolence.

There was one place where nothing of this was present, but only peace and love—the chapel at Castle Hill and the assembly of believers. They knew and trusted in his utter truthfulness, sincerity, purity of doctrine, and holy love to God and themselves. This was enough, and as he stood up and surveyed them from the pulpit it seemed his ark of rest and safety, for it ought to be said for his honour and theirs, that from the first to the last Sunday of his ministry, there never was a rent or flaw in their unity as a church. He oft spoke of his happiness in the ministry at Castle Hill, and no inducements could tempt him to leave them. This loyalty, this faithfulness was the bulwark against which the malice of the world broke into harmless spray.

Such a minister could speak freely about personal religion for he knew he was only one of many who had like experience. Yes, and more, from some who hardly knew they possessed it, he drew forth the finest gold of the sanctuary to enrich his correspondence.

As we may well suppose, he had a very susceptible heart to every form of unkindness and studied neglect. His profession required services which excited emotion and increased nervous sensibility. He who invites the sorrows and trials of others must share them, and so render ungrateful returns more wounding. But he varied in nought under this hard discipline, never strove to protect himself under studied forms and tricks of phraseology which would show them artificial. The splendid moral unity of his nature made him be as he appeared.

DODDRIDGE THE POET.

At least one hundred and fifty years have passed away since Doddridge wrote the last of his hymns, and since then most distinguished sacred poets have come and gone, yet there is hardly a selection used in public worship that does not contain

a number of his hymns. Royalty itself has preferred them for its special celebrations. They must, therefore, have been felt as fine in poetic form and conception as divine in sentiment. The soul and the emotions are the best judges of poetry. When they are moved—satisfied, memory is constrained to record the very words amongst her most precious things, the controversy is closed whether their author was a true poet. We honour the critics much, but nature more. Hence, our Doddridge was a true poet of the sanctuary, and we are grateful for all he has left us in this respect.

Let us recollect the conditions that ruled their production. They are the incense of the sermons in which the interest of mind and heart had been altogether excited. The rhythmic emotions, which exalted, or tender themes had stirred, demanded the musical words that would enable his people to sing as well as share them. Little time was spent in their composition, for he had little to spare. They were thrown off, and did not receive, either in their inception or their verbal finish, what poetic conceptions, like pure gold, ought to have to reveal their sheen. But poetry like music its sister must submit to rules of construction. It is the architecture of thoughts and words. In form and colour it is the finest of statuary, the noblest of paintings, the sweetest of music, for all artists have recourse to it for their inspiration and most finished conceptions. It therefore permits, demands, much time and skill for its composition. Tennyson, unblamed, devoted his life to it. It is told that Gray waited two years to catch a word from the lips of the people to complete his inimitable Elegy.

But Doddridge's hymns were perorations of his sermons, or short summaries of their contents. He had no time, therefore, to elaborate, remove the superfluous, add the deficient, or to give the finer touches that reflection and a better mental mood would have supplied.

The greatest of poets, such as our Shakespeare and our Milton, had a few happy seasons in which everything in conception and emotion, language and rhythm is simultaneously created. But such times are rare.

Let the following hymn, inspired by a sermon on Philippians iii. 12-14, serve as an illustration :—

1 "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve,
And press with vigour on ;
A heavenly race demands thy zeal,
And an immortal crown.

2 A cloud of witnesses around,
Hold thee in full survey ;
Forget the steps already trod,
And onward press thy way.

3 'Tis God's all-animating voice
That calls thee from on high ;
'Tis His own hand presents the prize
To thine aspiring eye.

4 That prize with peerless glory bright,
Which shall new lustre boast,
When victors' wreaths and monarchs' gems,
Shall blend in common dust.

5 Blest Saviour ! introduced by Thee,
Have I my race begun ;
And crowned with victory at Thy feet,
I'll lay my honours down."

The fire, the power of the great poet of the Olympic games, never surpassed this in form and diction, and never approached it in the immortal crown held out for the victor.

The church at Castle Hill had to enter on a great trial in 1751. The health of their beloved minister began to decline. Lassitude, a troublesome cough, and growing debility invaded his delicate constitution. They were the dark shadows of coming events. He ceased to preach, and was only occasionally present at the services. It was whispered that he was smitten with pulmonary consumption. The people were alarmed and anxious. Special prayer meetings were held to intercede for his recovery. For twenty-one years he had been their faithful minister, and far exceeded their fervent invitations and untiring importunities to be their pastor. They had seen what a church of Jesus Christ really was, and now this man of God, of whose ministry it was the fair fruit, was about to be taken from them. They were brought face to face with calamity ; God in the day of trouble is their only refuge, and to Him they turn with importunate entreaties.

Mrs. Doddridge and their children are present, and theirs will be the greatest loss. Prayer is specially offered that he may be spared for them as well as for the church. This is how the greater part of the year passed at Castle Hill. The physicians had not given much hope. A warmer climate was prescribed that he might escape the rains, fogs, and frosts of an English winter. Lisbon was mentioned as likely to supply what was wanted, but it proved to be the wrong season. Its situation is fine, its

climate mild. Cintra, its Daphne, was near. There was a colony of wealthy English merchants, who had either heard of Doddridge or were connected with his friends. They would not be wanting in sympathy and hospitality. Numbers of letters were already received, full of feeling regrets and loving messages. What the hon. Mrs Scawen, Maidwell, had expressed is shared by all: "The concern I have been in for my dear friend's illness is not to be expressed. I never thought I had so great a value for you as when I had some forebodings of losing you. Many prayers and tears have I poured out for your recovery, and to use your own expression in a letter to my mother"—Lady Russel—"'If the most importunate prayers can keep you out of heaven, you must live, and dread to think how long.'"

He was not an old man, only fifty, nor spent by his great labours. Were his health restored, fifteen or twenty years more of his ripest experience and wisdom might be given to his academy and ministry. His friends had recently subscribed the salary of a third assistant, that more time might be secured for superintendence and greater leisure provided for his literary labours. Most of his old friends and helpers still remained, and his people had not become too familiar with his voice and manner. None of his most promising students had won their hearts. The persuasion that the voyage to Lisbon and rest there might restore his health was fondly entertained by him and Mrs. Doddridge. "God works by secondary causes, and these might be His appointed means of re-establishing his health." When a devoted servant of God is engaged in a great work, of which highest approval has been given by the faithful of the good it had already done, and there is no other evident reason than the state of his health for his retirement, there is ample room for great faith and trustful prayer. Sometimes the removal of His servants is the will of God, because, knowing all things, He knows what is best for them and the church. But as this is hidden from both and they are left to circumstances to judge of the great loss and the possible evils that might ensue from his removal, they are permitted to exert the power of prayer and indulge the persuasion that God, as the absolute master of all His works, can and may interpose for their relief. There are invisible miracles in which God acts through nature as if He had spoken the word audibly, as at the tomb of Lazarus. God and not nature is almighty, and, therefore, we ought not to succumb like slaves at the feet of an imaginary ruler, but have faith in the Omnipotent. Had similar conditions not been experienced and the answer to prayer certified, we should not have ventured on using such strong language. Science has done much to mitigate

the evils of life, but we ought not, for a moment, to suffer it to be the supreme Lord of nature or the boundaries of possibility. It was a failure in science that decided on trying what Lisbon would do for Doddridge. Mrs. Doddridge would accompany him and cheer him, while a faithful attendant would assist her as a nurse. The expense made him hesitate, as the interests of his family would be seriously affected by his death abroad. But as this was known it was obviated by the liberality of his friends, who were prepared to meet any loss that might be incurred. He visited Bristol, but without relief. Thence he proceeded to Falmouth. There Dr. Turner, who had been introduced by his former medical attendant, received him, and insisted on his being his guest till their embarkation. Writing in a cheerful strain to a friend, he says "Let us thank God and take courage. We may yet know many cheerful days. If I survive my voyage, a line shall tell you how I bore it—if not all will be well." But on the night before he sailed his most painful and threatening symptoms returned with greater violence. Mrs. Doddridge advised his return home, but he gave this short answer "The die is cast, I choose to go." He was prepared to die, but willing rather to live for the good of others. After an affectionate farewell to his friends, he sailed on Monday, Sept. 30th. The captain's cabin was at his service, through the influence of Dr. Warburton and Mr. Allen, at the Post Office. Consumptive patients escape sea-sickness. His strength returned so that he could enter into the wonders of the boundless ocean and enjoy its refreshing breezes, while Mrs. Doddridge and her attendant were still suffering. Much of his time was spent sitting in an easy chair in the cabin, and there he indulged in spiritual joys and transporting views of the heavenly world. But, becalmed in the Bay of Biscay, he suffered so much from the heat, and his respiration became so laborious that his death was feared. A gentle gale to his great relief sprang up, and at last he entered the Tagus.

He was received and entertained with great kindness by Mr. David King, an English merchant. Mr. King's mother was a member of the congregation at Castle Hill, and he sought to return "the many services the Doctor had rendered to his friends in England." Here also he found a family related to Mrs. Doddridge, and other friends who had been advised of his coming, who showed him all the civility in their power. After spending a week at Lisbon, by his doctor's advice he was removed into the country, but unfortunately the rainy season set in and hastened his departure. Strange that this was unknown to his medical

advisers. He was sent to Lisbon to die. That night seemed the last of his life. But his mind continued in the same calmness, joy, and vigour that was felt during his whole illness. Mrs. Doddridge attended him, and he said to her that "He had been making it his humble and earnest request that God would support and comfort her. That it had been his desire, if it were the divine will, to stay a little longer upon the earth to promote the honour and interest of his beloved Lord and Master, but now the only pain he felt in the thought of dying was his fear of the distress and grief which would come on her in case of his removal." "But I am so sure my Heavenly Father will be with you that I think my death will be a greater blessing to you than my life hath ever been." "He desired her to remember him in the most affectionate manner to his dear children, his flock, and all his friends; and to tell them of the gratitude his heart felt, and the blessings he wished for them all on account of their kindness to him; nor was the family where he lodged, nor his own servant, forgotten in these expressions of his pious benevolence. After lying still some time, and being supposed asleep, he told her that he had been renewing his *covenant engagements with God, and that he had a cheerful, well grounded Hope through the Redeemer of his being received to his everlasting mercy.*" He lingered on till the next day in a gentle doze till an hour before his death. In the last moments he appeared restless, fetched several deep sighs, and quickly obtained release from the burthen of the flesh on Saturday, October 26th, O.S., about three o'clock in the morning.

It was well that he was allowed to depart in peace, and that no officious priest of the Church of Rome ventured to intrude as they had done to the distress of many Protestant families at Lisbon during the sickness and death of their relatives.

When his body was opened *(as by his own desire it was)*, his lungs were found in so ulcerated a state that it appeared wonderful to the physician that both speaking and breathing were not more difficult and painful to him, and that he suffered so little acute pain to the last. "He had often expressed a desire of being buried in his Meeting-place, at Northampton, with his children and so many of his people and friends." But it became a matter of indifference to him, and he desired to be buried wherever he should die as it would not increase the distress of his afflicted consort. The expense also of his removal to England was another reason for deciding on laying his remains in the burying ground of the British factory at Lisbon. "Most of the gentlemen of the factory were at his funeral, and did him honour at his death." The Rev. Mr. Williamson, their chaplain,

on the following Lord's Day preached a funeral sermon from 1 Timothy iv. 8, "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come." In this sermon he gave him a high and honourable character, founded on what he had heard from many, and seen of his worth during the opportunities he had of conversing with him. A monument was erected to him over his grave by his admiring friends.

When he looked into the open grave of his darling Betsy in the table pew, he said, "It is made for me also; I shall sleep by her." But it was otherwise appointed. Far away in the capital of Lusitania he rests in the English cemetery, and we have only a drawing of his monument. Loving, reverent hands have kept the grave and preserved the tomb. Though variously named in their religious professions they are one in the honour they render to the "blessed dead;" and Doddridge Church at Northampton with one heart and soul tender to them their grateful thanks for this labour of love.

DR. DODDRIDGE'S WORKS.

His chief excellency as a writer lay in theology, for he was surpassed by few in the extent though not, perhaps, in the accuracy of his learning. But his studies for above twenty years of the Hebrew and Greek texts of Holy Scripture, in his prelections for his students, and preparations for the "Family Expositor" must have led to an intimate acquaintance with them.

His method of arranging his thoughts, from his full grasp of the whole subject as well as all its parts, enabled him to advance with greater ease and clearness. They were, therefore, naturally expressed.

1730. One of his earliest literary productions was "Free Thoughts on the most probable means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest." This was in season, and led to the restoration of the Academy.

1742. Three letters in reference to "Christianity not founded on Argument." This work was a treatise apparently meant to support Christianity, but really devised to subvert it. While crying up the immediate testimony of the Spirit and its necessity, he advances several very cunning insinuations against the truth of it in the most pernicious views. Doddridge answers the attack by not only defending Christianity in general, and chiefly the agency of the divine Spirit.

1745. His "Life of Colonel Gardiner" appeared, and was read with great interest and profit to many.

1732. "Sermons on the Education of Young People."

1743. "Sermons to Young People." Some say that they were known and used in the Royal Family.

1745. "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul." Dr. J. Orton says it is a body of practical divinity. Dr. Isaac Watts thought much of it and revised it in part, but failed in strength before its completion.

1736. He published ten "Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ and the Evidences of the Glorious Gospel." These are perhaps the best of his sermons. The subject is treated in a masterly style, and sets forth this essential doctrine in a manner becoming its greatness. Dr. Watts says, "It is indeed a body of practical divinity and Christian experience, and contains, as it were, the substance of his preaching." A small work, written "To a Friend on Family Religion."

His "Family Expositor" was first designed at Kibworth and completed in the year of his death. It comprehends the substance of his prelections to his students on the Holy Scriptures. In it he distinguishes between the text and his paraphrases by different type. Published in six volumes, and the seventh edition shows how generally it was prized and read.

His works in part were translated into different languages, as Dutch, French, German, and Danish, especially his "Rise and Progress of Religion," &c.

After his death Dr. Job Orton collected and published his hymns, 374 in number, and his "Principles of the Christian Religion expressed in plain and easy verse, for the use of Children and Youth." The language of this is simple and well adapted to instruct them in the principal doctrines of Christianity.

"A short account of the life of Mr. T. Seppe."

Brainerd's "Journal of his mission among the Indians," did much to excite and promote the missionary spirit of the churches. But there was one author whom he exceedingly admired and prized above all others—Archbishop Leighton. He revised his expository works and other remains, translating his prelections out of Latin into English. He differs from Leighton on episcopacy and several forms both of discipline and worship, but without alienation or indifference. Dr. Watts, in a letter to Mr. David Longville, minister of the English Church, Amsterdam, after speaking of his "Rise and Progress," and after regretting its dedication to himself, says, "Besides all this he possesses such a spirit of charity, love, and goodness to his fellow Christians who may fall into some lesser differences of opinion, as becometh a follower of the blessed Jesus, his Master and mine. I esteem it a considerable honour, which the providence of God hath done me, when it makes use of me as an instrument in His hands to promote the usefulness of this great man in any part of the world; and it is my hearty prayer

that our Lord Jesus, the Head of the Church, may bless all his labours with most glorious success, either read or heard, in my native language or in any other tongue."

THE FAMILY OF DR. DODDRIDGE.

At his decease the family consisted of the widow, son, and three daughters. The last he playfully called Faith, Hope, and Charity. Of Mrs. Doddridge he says, "She has done her part with great and successful care in the wise and pious education of our surviving children." His son was then fourteen, and educated by the Rev. Mr. Acken, afterwards D.D. and tutor at Warrington.

Mr. Doddridge spent two years more in study under Dr. Ashworth, his father's successor in the academy.

Miss Doddridge was married to John Humphreys, Esq., of Tewkesbury, an attorney in high reputation and extensive practice. To this town with her two remaining daughters Mrs. Doddridge removed to unite the family by near residence. Here she lived for some years witnessing the domestic happiness of the family and the growth of her grand-children in piety and learning. Her correspondence with her numerous friends has been carefully collected in ten MS. volumes, arranged with great care and placed by Dr. S. Newth in the library of New College with other valuable memorials of Dr. Doddridge and the family. But great trials awaited Mrs. Doddridge in the failure of her son-in-law and soon after the death of her son. Mr. Humphreys' failure was occasioned by the sudden fall of the value of land, from the American war, in which he had speculated too largely. Mrs. Humphreys returned to her mother. Mr. Doddridge suffered from ill-health, and died at Tewkesbury at the age of forty-seven. Mrs. Doddridge also suffered much from ill-health, which she supported with cheerfulness, serenity of spirit, and confidence in God. She died on April 7th, 1790, aged eighty-two.

As seen in our historic notice of the Great Revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne of these kingdoms, and established "liberty of conscience and of person" as the right of every one, now the Nonconformists were free to give a visible and practical form to their ideal of the apostolic church. By the close study of the scriptures they were able to free this ideal from the erroneous additions which had been added by the church of after ages. Their persecutors decreed that the doctrines, clerical orders and ceremonies of the church of the

first three centuries should be included in forming a true ideal of the church of the Reformation. The Nonconformists could not admit such a claim.

In 1695 the church assembling in the "Great Meeting" was Congregational in constitution, and held themselves perfectly free to give a practical form to its ideal without reference to the civil or ecclesiastic authorities. Christ alone was the Head of His church, and under His rule and teaching they believed they were competent to order their spiritual and secular interests according to His word taught by the Holy Spirit.

To-day, after two hundred years, we rejoice and give glory to God our Saviour that the ministers successively chosen by the church—Shepard, Hunt, and Tingey were men of God, mighty in the scriptures, and fervent in spirit, who, called of God, and knowing their responsibilities, devoted themselves to the instruction and edification of the church, not after the human but divine model. The ministry of the Rev. Thomas Tingey was eminently preparatory to that of Dr. Doddridge, for the people were educated to discern in him the servant of God who would preach the word to them and lead them into the green pastures of the Christian life.

As it has also been seen, the Rev. Dr. Doddridge united in himself by a true succession the two great branches, English and Bohemian, of the Reformed Church of Wycliffe. From his mother he learned the doctrines of the Gospel afterwards taught to the Revs. John and Charles Wesley by Peter Bohler and Bishop Spangenberg, and from his father the doctrines and manner of life of the two thousand confessors whom the Act of Uniformity expelled from the Established Church. Doddridge's works and ministry reveal the presence of both tendencies. Yielding to no extreme party in dogmatic theology, nor attempting solutions of the mysteries of the divine nature and government, he laboured to instruct his people in the way of salvation and the attainments and pleasures of a life of love and holiness. His catholicity was as wide as his faith in the Son of God, and he therefore found intimate friends and brethren in every denomination. Thus for nearly twenty-two years the church at Castle Hill was an apostolic church in doctrine and life. This will be for us a great honour, or a great reproach. If we walk in their footsteps, and live for God and men, an abiding honour; but if we forsake the faith that is in Christ Jesus, an eternal loss and dishonour.

But the golden chain that unites Northampton to Lutterworth is still in its place, and may it be more closely united by pure and undefiled religion!

HISTORY OF
THE CHURCH OF DODDRIDGE.

(Continued by Rev. J. J. Cooper).

THE SUCCESSORS OF PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D.

"He who has love in his heart has spurs in his sides."

The name and fame of the church on Castle Hill gravitates towards Philip Doddridge. The course of its history is like the way of a great river running over an uneven bed. It takes many a turn into quiet places where the still water runs deep, over troubled places where it murmurs at the stony shallows, down rugged places where it falls with noise and foam, revealing itself by the line of fruitfulness it has helped to create. A man richly, variously endowed, was needed to take the helm which Doddridge had held so long with commanding genius. He had written much during his crowded life, almost covered the field of human knowledge, but no amount of writing could make a successor needless. In the school we need both the text-book and the living teacher: he is still more needful in the Church, for Christianity is not only a set of truths to be known, but a life to be used and a battle to be won. We believe in Apostolical Succession. Not in a magical, or a mechanical continuity through the medium of a prelate and sacramental grace, but in personal fitness through the direct operation of the Spirit of God in men who hold the truth, have the character, and do the work of the Apostles as witnesses of the saving grace of Christ, and preachers of His Gospel. The first divine gift to the Church included pastors and teachers, and insured a succession of ministers as long as there were lost men to save and saved men to encourage and instruct. The man with living truth within him thinks less of the men who have delivered their message than of the good tidings with which his own spirit is charged. The spurs of love are in his side. He knows that in different tongues the Church for ages has listened to the Gospel, and knows that it must be repeated, for it is in-

tended to come home to man through the ever-varying forms of human personality. This personal quality is a great power which lends him courage and leads him on. The preacher is not often a great man as the world measures greatness: he may never rise from the ranks, he may remain in the ranks doing more for the good of society than many a one who fills too many pages of history with the glitter of his sceptre, the havoc of his sword, the bluster of his office, or the jingle of his gold.

In his will Doddridge had made provision for his successor: "I do hereby declare that, so far as I can judge, no man living will be more fit for the office than the Rev. (Job Orton, of Northampton), and if it should so happen, as I think it very probably may, that the congregation should desire to put themselves under his ministerial care, I do hereby make my dying request to him, that he would accept the united charge, and thereby perpetuate those schemes which he knows I am forming for the public service, the success of which is far dearer to me than my own life." Doddridge made this will in 1741, and in the same year Job Orton, his personal friend, his elder in the Church, his assistant in the Academy, removed from Northampton to a church in Shrewsbury, his birthplace: in 1749 his name was erased, and instead of it was inserted the name of the Rev. Caleb Ashworth, who had settled at Daventry. He did not feel free to sever his connection with his church at Daventry, but he so far complied with this dying request as to take charge of the Academy, with its schemes for the public service. For six months after the death of Doddridge the ministry of his church was sustained by his students, "that the salary might be continued to the family for that time." The spurs of love were in the sides of these young men. It was a thoughtful and a graceful service, but it could not be prolonged. The Head of the Church, who had called one master-workman to his rest, was preparing another to carry on the work. But where was he to be found? This had become the serious question of the day. Application for a minister to come on trial was made to two of Doddridge's intimate friends—Dr. John Guyse, of New Bond-street, London, and Dr. David Jennings, who had removed to London from Kibworth, and was one of the professors of the Hoxton Academy. With such powerful and sympathetic help the church was in search of one who had the grace, if not the gift of a Doddridge. Such men were rare, the church was prudent, and would not make a hasty choice, nor lay hands suddenly on any man. It was twelve months before the mantle of Doddridge was recognised on the shoulder of his successor.

ROBERT GILBERT.

1753 TO 1760.

"A good archer is not known by his arrows, but by his aim."

One is sorry, but not surprised, that very little is known about Mr. Gilbert. What can the man do that cometh after the king? With the loss of Doddridge, the Independents lost the leadership of Dissent. Even if Gilbert's ministry had reached and kept the high level of his predecessor, there could not have been the same desire, nor need, to keep a record of it. He came to Northampton from Oakham, Rutlandshire, but the church there can give no account of him. He began his ministry at Castle Hill on March 25th, and all that we know of it is contained in three sermons, "published at the earnest request of the congregation." As Doddridge had published so many famous books, this earnest request that Mr. Gilbert should publish these sermons was a fine testimony to the satisfaction of the church in their choice of a successor. These sermons exhibit the preacher as a large-minded man with an observant eye on the movements of the age, in sympathy with its struggles, with a desire and a message to direct them to their highest issues. The quiet strength of his convictions fitted the disordered times as a river fits its bed. To see the wisdom of his words we must surround them with the events of his day. The government was engaged in the Seven Years' War, and so rapidly enlarging its bounds, that "men were forced to ask every morning what victory there was for fear of missing one." Each in his own way three men of genius were working hard for the welfare of the country—Pitt, the great commoner, who said, "I know that I can save the country, and I know that no one else can," and Wesley and Whitfield, the great revivalists, who were saying to eager multitudes, I know that Jesus Christ can save you, and He is the only Saviour. The thoughtful Hervey, in the adjacent village of Weston Flavel, was meditating among the tombs, and attracting serious crowds by the fervour with which he preached. There were others like minded, but very few. It was an age of reason. The centre of gravity had shifted from religion as a life to religion as a creed; preachers were discussing the evidences of christianity rather than enforcing its vital truths; polishing the shell instead of feeding hungry men with the kernel. Hannah More, with the highest qualities of a philanthropist found in Somersetshire what she could have found in Northamptonshire. "When she first visited Cheddar she went to every house in the place and found each a scene of the greatest ignorance and vice.

There was but one bible in all the parish, and that was used to prop a flower pot. No clergyman had resided in it for forty years. Children were buried without any funeral service, and out of a population of 2,000, eight persons at the morning service, and twenty in the afternoon was considered a good congregation."

In a racy letter to Mrs. Whitfield, which seems to have been written in a great hurry by a member of Castle Hill Church, we get a peep at what was going on in the town and neighbourhood.

"Noth^{tm}, Sept. 24th, 1760.

"Dear, very dear Madam,—My dear, very dear laborous man of God, Mr. Whitfield, was here yesterday morn, at 10 o'clock. On tuesday he wished me to give you a line that you might know it. By a good Providence he came last friday even, and preach^{t} to a small number on Saturday morn, when thear was God's power felt and his glory seen indeed! for I never saw so many in the even to a large number, and *then out came the Devill in some Lawers' clarks.* Mr. Wh$^{d.}$ was asking what family the hearers belonged to, and they rored out like Bulls, wich declared that they was of theare father the Devell. 'Well,' said he, 'heare are sum of God's family too (don't be mov^{d}) heare is sum good to be done, the devel rores. Pray, ye people of God.' So he preached them silent, and they came on Sunday evenen like children. He called to them, 'Are you gentlemen?' and dear Mr. Riland took a great deal of pains, and was in the heat of the Battel, and came off conquor, reasoned, as, 'Gentlemen, hear the word of God,' and *gave them broadsides in Lattin* (for it was in his cortyard). Sabbath morn, all peace, and a great good time. . . . Monday morn, preached before we set off . . . The Rev. Mr. Ashworth, of the Academy, who was all theare, of Deventry, gave him an invitation to call, whenever Mr. Whit$^{d.}$ comes that way, to make his hous his home. We had a large shower of rain at preaching. Then set of to Husband's Bosworth to preach, at 8 o'clock, to a small number on acont of a race too miles of. It rained an hour of the time, so fast, I believe a spout (7 foot long) at a hous eve would have catch a quart of water in one minute. Mr. Whit$^{d.}$ was wet through all, and the water ran out of his gownd sleeve. Well, said he, if you don't mind the rain I don't. I believe, you don't mind a little rain at a markett. Well, com, if you can, find Christ the way. You will have a much better prise than your poor poltry prise they will get at yonder race, where they are forsing the poor creatures allmost to death. One, that I know quite well, a godly man (who is allways full of pain) said, "I felt no pain while I was hearing." Then away we went to Harborrow on

tuesday morn. They set the cryer about. Ther came ten times more people than Mr. Wh[d] expected, as quiet as lambs.

I have gave this to sow his labours in knight and day, and as he's melted at the tabernacle with heat, so he's washed in the fields with water. 'Strange that a harp of thousand strings should keep in tune so long,' says Dr. Watts. Shoorly this motto he has ever before him in Dr. Doddridge's hymns, 'My soul the oracle receives, and feels its energy to cheer.' A present heaven, a present God forbid my griefs, forbids my tears. Mr. Whit[d]. set of for Notingham. Desires, God will, to be heare in three weeks again.

"I am, dear Madam, yours to command, though the vilest

"James Slinn."

The need for the ceaseless activity of his evangelical fervour was based on the spiritual destitution of the people. By the claims of the Established Church it makes itself responsible for the religious welfare of the country, but, "though possessed of vast revenues, and of a monopoly of power, it had almost utterly neglected to perform its duty in respect to the religious education of the people," and Methodism was increasing with marvellous rapidity in the direction of both Whitfield's and Wesley's theology. Mr. Gilbert joined them in their rousing ministry, but with fealty to his own order. The three sermons before us are on "The Terms of National Happiness, stated and recommended 2 Chron. xv. 2, delivered at Northampton, 6th Feb., 1756; appointed to be observed as a day of general and public fasting, humiliation, and prayer." "An Alarm to Great Britain, with an invitation to Repentance from the respite of Judgment, Jer. xviii. 7, 8; 11th Feb., 1757; appointed to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer." And "Britain Revived and under the smiles of Mercy summoned to the work of praise, Ps. xxxiv. 3: 29th Nov., 1759; appointed to be observed as a day of general and public thanksgiving." On the title-page of the first discourse is a quotation in Greek from Æschylus, an Athenian poet, and there are foot-notes to the sermon in both Latin and Greek. It looks like a parade of learning, but it was the habit of the age, and the preacher was too meek to be vain. He is said to have graduated with the degree of M.A., but he never uses the signs of this distinction, nor even the ordinary title of "Rev."—he wished to be known as plain Robert Gilbert. He could blow the trumpet with great force, but he did not blow his own. A good archer, he thought more of his aim than of his arrows, but these were chosen with skill.

In these sermons we can see the man with a fertile mind, a sober judgment, an eloquent tongue, and a tender heart. In

the introduction to the first discourse he says, "If you reflect upon that dreadful and extensive earthquake with which some neighbouring countries have been visited, and the importance of the present situation of our public affairs (as to the issue of them, to the peace and safety of these kingdoms, to our commerce and liberty, and, above all, to the most valuable blessing of the Protestant religion) you will evidently perceive the highest reason and fitness in that royal proclamation which has appointed the solemn assemblies of this day. Amid our humiliations and prayers we cannot but rejoice in it as a token of good, that the great Regent of the universe has put it into the heart of your most gracious sovereign to set the example in these necessary duties, and by the authority wherewith he is invested to call upon his subjects in general to concur with him in the purposes of such an appointment. Especially as the duties which are this day recommended by divine and human authority are the most probable means of your obtaining the protection and favour of heaven, upon which the safety and prosperity of nations, as well as of individuals, do evidently depend." Dissenters are sometimes thought to be deficient in loyalty, but, with singleness of heart, he could speak of your Most Gracious Sovereign, for King George II. was a friend to religious liberty, and with courtesy he could concur in this royal proclamation, for that dreadful earthquake destroyed half Lisbon, where lay the body of Doddridge, to whom he refers as "your late very valuable pastor." His grave in that quaking, gaping soil must have been in the mind of the preacher, though, with true delicacy of feeling, he does not say so. The knowledge that his people were deeply interested in Lisbon will, perhaps, account for the graphic detail he puts into his harrowing picture of horror and distress from the hand of the Almighty, "Shaking the earth out of her place and making the pillars thereof to tremble, at the same that it affrighted the mighty waters, which, it was said, were raised many yards in perpendicular height. But no wonder if that fluid body suffered such a violent concussion when the king's palace and the strongest buildings in the city were rocked from their foundations, and the fall of houses on all sides made the wretched inhabitants seek for safety in flight through multitudes of dead and dying persons, who with carriages and mules overthrown were lying in the streets. And those who with difficulty escaped with their lives ran in the open places crying for mercy, and raised dismal shrieks and lamentations; having the additional horror of beholding the flames of a conflagration communicated from street to street by flakes of fire driven with the wind. Poor creatures! at this distance, it

chills my blood to think of their agonising distress, when their fears urged them to fly and yet would not suffer them to advance, the Lord having fenced up their way that they could not pass, and set darkness in their path! Many stood still and perished. Others ran they knew not whither, as long as they could keep their feet upon a pavement which tottered under them. Many died of the fright. Some hundreds trampled under foot were suffocated, and in their delirium many took to the sea and perished. . . . I must leave to your imaginations and compassions to follow those poor remains of inhabitants who survived the loss of their substance, friends and effects—burnt out of their houses—flying half naked, and reduced to the necessity of lying in the open air upon the ground, or at the best to live in barracks, or tents in the fields, where many more have perished by diseases which they contracted partly by fatigue, watching, and terror, and partly by scarcity of provision and want of shelter from the weather. And it must have been very affecting to have seen their Sovereign himself in the last extremity of distress—sadly complaining, *though a king* of wanting *subjects*—without a habitation, without money, and without bread. A loud and alarming voice from heaven proclaiming that princes and peasants are equally dependent upon the chief and only Potentate, proclaiming the vanity of human affluence and grandeur, and the instability of all earthly possessions." The study and the statement of these harrowing details were, no doubt, largely due to the fact that Lisbon had become linked to Castle Hill by the body of Doddridge lying there, though in a sleep too deep to be disturbed by this crack of doom.

The Cattle Plague was ravaging our fields, and we see another side of Mr. Gilbert's nature in his pity for the ailing beast—"Surely, if agreeable to the character of the righteous man we regard the life of our beasts, it will draw forth our compassions to behold, or to reflect upon, the miseries of our distempered herds. It would be cruel and barbarous, even abstracted from views of interest, to feel no regret at finding the contagion still propagated from herd to herd after such numbers of them have been so miserably broken. But it will greatly increase our sensibility and concern, if we reflect upon the value and usefulness of these creatures which by the wise ordination of a benevolent Providence were placed among us to increase our riches, and contribute to our comfort and happiness. They furnish us with many conveniences of life while we permit them to live . . . . they supply us with materials for lengthening out our days, and alleviating the darkness of our nights. . . . As there is no evil which the

Lord hath not done in reference to the city and the state, so neither can we exclude his providence from the country and the field. He is the author of their life, which He maintains by the air in which they breathe, and the food for which all wait upon Him, which He causes to pass to them under our care and through our hands. But, alas! we have been setting ourselves up as the lords of His creation, and have forgotten God to whom we are indebted for such useful creatures, and for all the comforts and conveniences we have enjoyed by their means; and therefore for many years past He has been calling upon us by His justice, to reflect upon His bounty, and the constant dependence which we have upon Him."

We see Mr. Gilbert at his best in his treatment of the plague of the human heart. "How should it humble us! what shame we should take to ourselves, and what painful reflections should we feel when we recollect how we have sinned and done wickedly! How much deism and infidelity is visible amidst the blaze of the Gospel of Christ! With what fluency is the language of hell spoken among us! And how all our ears grated with the horrid oaths, curses, and imprecations, which we are compelled to hear, while we sit in our houses, as well as when we walk the streets! How many practice, without wearing on their faces so much as the colour of virtue, such things as are not to be named among Christians! . . . . How notorious is the profanation of the Sabbath, the neglect of the ordinances of Christ, and even the contempt of many of the means of grace and salvation! And when the form of religion is left, ah! how little of the power of it appears! . . . Let us all therefore, seriously reflecting on the sins and desolations of other countries, and remembering (what we are not able to contest) that except we repent we shall all likewise perish, look up to Jesus who is exalted at the right hand of God, a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins; and encouraging ourselves in Him, who is the Lord our righteousness and strength, charge our consciences with the performance of this necessary duty. . . . . Instead of censuring the vices of others as the causes upon which our calamities or dangers are to be charged, every one should scrutinize himself, and say, What have I done? What must I do? What irregularity have I acted? What iniquity have I omitted to restrain? What duty belonging to my station and character have I neglected? In what vain communication have I mingled? What appetite or passion has exceeded its just bounds? What vain or sensual, what covetous or aspiring, what distrustful and unbelieving thoughts have I suffered to lodge within me, and

am now under a particular call to discard? This, sirs, is what God and man expect from you and me. Nor can we hope that the Lord will subdue our enemies while we harbour his: or preserve us from calamity if we provoke His vengeance by persisting in our sins. Were we, each of us, persuaded by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the mercies of God, and awakened by these terrors of the Lord, to the necessary care of amending *one*, we might then rejoice in the hope of seeing good days. . . . . If days of darkness and distraction should come, if this peaceful land should be over-run with armed legions of our enemies, and amidst the wild uproar and tumult of war property should be brought into dreadful hazard, and our very lives should hang in a perpetual suspense, insomuch that tremblings of heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind, should become the dismal distinctions of our times, we have a glorious reversion laid up for us out of the reach of rapine, we have a deathless life which is hid with Christ in God, with whom we likewise have a most blessed peace through our Lord Jesus Christ. The gospel brings the olive branch from heaven, and though wasting and destruction should be seen triumphant within our borders, yet the covenant of peace shall never be removed."

These long extracts from a sermon are given because they show us something of the man that succeeded Doddridge, and these sermons of his are all that we have. For some reason not known Mr. Gilbert was unequal to the demands made upon him. He was assisted in his ministry by Mr. Warburton, who preached at Creaton on Sunday afternoons, and after the death of Mr. Gilbert became the pastor of that church, and served it faithfully for twenty years. One has said, "He could mould the will of a nation if he could give it its songs." Doddridge had given the church its songs, and he seems to have run the judgment, if not the will of the church, into a mould of his own. Neither of his immediate successors could fill his place, both of them failed to keep what he had gained, though Mr. Gilbert too gave the church his songs. At the end of each sermon he published the hymn which consists of the chief points of the sermon reduced to metre. Here is a verse from each of the hymns composed for the three sermons.

"Majestic terror is His robe,
He looks, and shakes near half the globe;
And, had it rocked from pole to pole,
What wonder? since He made the whole!"

"Resume for us Thy ancient care,
For us direct th' events of war,
And show our haughtiest foes abroad
The Lord of Hosts is Britain's God."

"Let love and gratitude employ
The remnant of our days,
And friends and foes partake our joy
And help us shout Thy praise."

Wise and genial though he was, Mr. Gilbert had his foes. Some members of the church left Castle Hill for the more attractive ministry of "dear Mr. Ryland," or for "the meeting on the green," also a Baptist Church, where, some years before, Mr. Barmer changed his views, and ceased to be pastor. The spirit of change hovering in the air had come down on the earth and made men restless. Some of them seemed to have left their hearts at Castle Hill, for on 5th June, 1760 it was "Resolved, that after this day it shall be deemed irregular and absurd for such persons as have chosen to separate themselves from our communion, (without removing to a distance where they probably may not be known) to apply to us for their dismission—or for any such persons as have adjoined themselves to any other congregation, to interfere in an any consultation, debate, or public act whatsoever relating to the affairs of this society, of which, by their voluntary separation, they declare themselves to be no longer members."

In a few months Mr. Gilbert himself was separated from that communion, and dismissed to the church above. His heart had gone before him, and in one of his sermons he lets us see him reaching forward to the completeness of his life, "where the redeemed of the Lord shall lift up their heads rejoicing, and warble forth their songs of victory and triumph in everlasting consort with the hallelujahs of angels, ascribing all the honour of their crowns and palms, and all the glory and joy of their celestial state, to the unsearchable riches of the grace and mercy of God and our Redeemer, whose is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

In words few and fitting his epitaph is written in the old church book :—

"This worthy man died 28th December, 1760."

WILLIAM HEXTAL.

1762 TO 1775.

"Better ride an ass that carries us, than a horse that throws us."

King George II. died in the same year as Mr. Gilbert, but the successor to the throne was more easily found than a successor in the church. It was two years before it issued another call to its ministry. At Broughton, near Kettering, William Hextal was busy on his father's farm, finding more joy in the cultivation of his mind than in the tillage of the field. Studious and devout, he was drawn to the Congregational Church at Kettering by the eloquent Thomas Saunders, and received into its fellowship in June, 1731. As the youth had set his mind upon the ministry, Mr. Saunders "gave him a solemn charge in relation to these things, and added several things . . . he should practise as a Christian in order to his being a minister." His pastor became his tutor, and fitted him to enter the Academy in Northampton, the stage on which he was to play an eventful part. After four years of fruitful study, he became pastor of the church at Creaton, but he was not ordained till two years later. Doddridge attended the ordination service and gave him the following certificate—

"Creaton, April 26th, 1738.

"This is to certify that the Rev. Wm. Hextal, having given full satisfaction as to his abilities and qualifications for the work of the ministry, was this day set apart to the pastoral office by prayer, fasting, and the imposition of hands, at the desire of the church in this place, who unanimously invited him to the exercise of the said office amongst them.

"Witness our hands: P. Doddridge, D.D.; James Watson, Leicester; Thomas Cartwright, J. Drake, Yardley; J. Hunt, Newport; Samuel Tailor."

Full of buoyancy and power, awake to the needs of men, his influence spread far beyond the bounds of Creaton, and he drew the members of his church from ten different villages. After thirteen years of successful work he drew a deputation from Suffolk. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Wood, of Norwich, dated 4th December, 1750, Doddridge said, "As for Sudbury, I have now in town with me Mr. Holman and Mr. Fenn, who came over to hear Mr. Hextal, of Creaton, once my pupil, a most pious, humble, zealous, and very able man, only of weak constitution. . . . . It would be a great grief to me to lose him from these parts, but I would not wrong the public so far as to wish to retain him in so small a place all his life." Doddridge bravely endured that grief. Hextal accepted the invitation to the old

church in Friars Street, Sudbury, founded in the year 1631. The small-pox had been ravaging the town of Sudbury, and, being in feeble health, with characteristic thoughtfulness, Doddridge made enquiries about the pestilence, and was assured of its abatement before he would attend the recognition service or advise Mr. Hextal to go. On the 20th of June, 1751, he preached the sermon at the settlement of his favoured pupil. It was one of the last public services in which Doddridge took any part, and it is believed that for this special occasion he composed his 352nd hymn—

"We bless the eternal source of light
Who makes the stars to shine,
And through this dark, beclouded world
Diffuseth rays divine."

For ten peaceful years Mr. Hextal reflected these "rays divine," and many rejoiced in the light. Then this "dark, beclouded world" sent its murky vapour into the church, it settled on pew and pulpit, and Mr. Hextal's ministry was abruptly ended. The borough was stormed in 1761 by a fierce political contest. Party politics crept from the hustings into the old chapel, and beclouded both pastor and people. In those days bribery was not done in a corner, it was "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." Sir Patrick Blake and Sir Walden Hanmer carried the seats at a cost of £10,695. The petition against their return did not unseat them, but the rancour the election provoked unseated Mr. Hextal. "Amiable, benevolent, but of great candour," he left the place in which, probably, his own plain speaking had made it difficult for him to live in peace or work in hope. Happily when he went to Sudbury he left the door open at Northampton. On the 18th of August, 1762, he was invited to the pastorate of "Castle Hill." He had an able advocate in Job Orton, his old tutor, who said, "A few persons made some objections, but they were such as I imagine they would readily give up for the peace of the church." As soon as the call was accepted, he wiped his brow, and relieved his mind by saying, "This is an encouragement not to be weary in well-doing, for I really never undertook anything of the kind with less hope of success." What made his brotherly task so difficult? Something had reached the ears and troubled the soul of Mrs. Doddridge, to whom Dr. Ashworth wrote on 20th February, 1762: "Everything you say about Mr. Hextal astonishes me. I only wish, as you do, that nothing may be said about it at present, though, on second thoughts, I know not what to wish or say. I will not cease to pray that God may overrule all for the good of the Society and His glory. This is all I can do."

What was this that grieved Mrs. Doddridge and so astonished Dr. Ashworth? Was it the creed of Mr. Hextal, or his conduct, or both, or neither? As we trace the course of events perhaps the right answer will come nearer the surface. It is an irksome condition, but it is the hap of some men to work in uncongenial situations, and to be continually misunderstood. They cannot ride without being thrown. For eleven years Mr. Hextal lived objections down and worked in peace; but, in 1773, he became the centre if not the source of one of the most critical events in our church life. Mr. Palmer, who had been a student in the Academy, says of Mr. Hextal that "his great candour and benevolence gave occasion to morose-minded people to charge him with a want of orthodoxy, whereas, in point of sentiment, he was in fact higher than the generality of acknowledged Calvinists." The simplicity of that is charming. It seems not to have occurred to Mr. Palmer that what is orthodox to a Calvinist, higher than the rest, must be "a want of orthodoxy" to an Arminian, and to others. Such a "sentiment" was the germ of much of the disagreement which prevailed at that time. The charge may have been false, but suspicion was too strong to be hushed by the love of peace or suppressed by the fear of strife. Doctrinal differences were at the bottom of a long contention in which there was much hard hitting and little malice. In the controversial pamphlets published at the time we read of "Those who would hold and establish false doctrine," of "disapproving of a particular doctrine." Mr. Hextal was said "to favour the Arminians"; some were "afraid that an Arian would be chosen to succeed him." It was only a paper war, but it must have inflicted many a wound in the pastor in a state of declining health. The pen can stab as well as the sword. The current of that day was running in the direction of polemics. Abroad, the wave of Independency was breaking on the shore of America. That colony was severed from Britain, and its established church was separated from state control. At home, the Countess of Huntingdon broke away from the established Church of England; clergymen were prohibited from preaching in her pulpits, and she was compelled to employ dissenting ministers, then to become a dissenter herself. The air was full of the dust of debate. The Evangelical party in the Established Church and the Calvinistic Methodists were absorbed in a discussion with John Wesley and his followers, on the merits of Calvinism and Arminianism, and it took six years to tire itself out. Castle Hill was caught in the current. If there was any difference between the pulpit and the pew, it could only be exactly the difference between the pew and the pulpit.

In the preface to one of the pamphlets Mr. Hextal gives the confession of his faith in these weighty words :—"The doctrine of the divinity of Christ, on which I humbly apprehend the efficacy of the atonement depends, the fall of man, or his lost estate by the great apostacy—the Deity of the Spirit, and the necessity of his influence to renew fallen man to the divine life—are doctrines I believe evidently discovered in the Scriptures. These I have constantly insisted upon in the course of my ministry ; for the truth of which I can appeal to those who have heard me ever since I came to this place, but it has ever been my opinion, that those doctrines which I look upon as the distinguishing glory of the gospel should be maintained in the spirit of love and candour, with soft words, and the strongest arguments we can use."

In consequence of Mr. Hextal's illness in September, 1773 it was decided to invite the son of Dr. Winter to preach for three months, hoping to find in him a co-pastor acceptable to both the suffering pastor and the anxious people. Mr. Winter's ministry was approved, and at a church meeting, "at which a hundred men were present," it was resolved that the young preacher should become the stated assistant, only one objecting. The congregation were not so harmonious. Some of the principal families were offended at this step, and Mr. Winter was not left in ignorance of their anger. This raised an issue on another subject of debate; it was now the old question of church order—should the church, or the subscribers, or both, have the power to place and displace the minister? Mr. Jeremiah Rudsdell, a deacon full of activity, asked Mr. Winter "how he expected to be maintained without the aid of the principal supporters?" He replied by leaving the town. Dr. Winter asked Mr. Hextall to "state candidly whether he had any objection to the conduct or to the creed of his son?" In his reply on 19th December, 1774 Mr. Hextal said," I have no objection to the doctrines your son delivered here, and I believe I preach them myself, *though I do not bring controversy into the pulpit.* He has a great readiness of expression, and a pathetic manner of delivery. His conduct towards me was kind and obliging. . . . . Now, Sir, as I hope I have friends on both sides, I am determined not to interfere in this affair." For some reason not explained, Mr. Hextal changed his determination and took the side against Mr. Winter, and the church thought it needful to take the side against him, and sent him a letter full of "soft words and strong arguments."

"Reverend Sir.—It is with real concern of mind that we feel ourselves constrained to enquire into any part of your conduct

towards the Church of Christ, of which we are members, and over which you now hold the pastoral office. When we consider the affection we lately had for you, and the advanced state of life you are in, it gives us double pain to think there is any cause for such an act to take place. But we cannot but look upon it as a duty we owe to God and ourselves to enquire into those things which appear to us to bear the mark of insincerity and dissimulation, however disagreeable the work may be, we think ourselves obliged to carry it on that matters may be cleared up, and good order and harmony once more take place in the church. We are heartily sorry the enemy of souls has been suffered to sow the seeds of discord among us, contrary to our desire, for we trust that we can appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that we have been sincerely concerned for your peace and welfare, which we have earnestly sought at the throne of grace, and are ready to seek and maintain on all occasions, so far as is consistent with maintaining the truth of the gospel, and standing up for those privileges which the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church has given us, but we apprehend the steps you have taken have a tendency to deprive us of them, which obliges us to lay the following things to your charge. . . . . You have endeavoured to subvert the discipline of the church, being Independent, by endeavouring to set aside their acts. We think it contrary to the temper and spirit of a Christian minister to take those steps and measures which you have taken, by making promises of favour to some, and using threats with others to make them vote according to your pleasure, though not according to the dictates of their consciences, which is contrary to the command the Apostle gives to ministers, "not to Lord it over God's heritage."

In the meantime Mr. Thoroughgood, who had preached several times with acceptance, was nominated as co-pastor. The name given to the preacher could not be given to his doctrine, for he gave offence by a sermon, "wherein he had mentioned the imputed righteousness of Christ as a reason of a believers justification before God, and we could see but little probability of such persons being satisfied to hear those doctrines preached constantly, which were matters of objection almost in first hearing, and if these doctrines were disgustful from Mr. Winter, we could not but conclude they would soon be so from Mr. Thoroughgood."

The issue between the church and Mr. Hextal gradually narrowed itself down, and by a large majority he was requested to resign, "some provision being made for his support." He at first consented, then refused. A deputation was sent to the

London ministers, who made Cole's Coffee House a kind of religious institute, and they advised the church not to dismiss Mr. Hextal. Then the healing measures of a compromise were tried. But with a sturdy allegiance to principle the deacons replied:—"To us it seems impossible to adopt healing measures, unless to heal the breach we had renounced all pretensions to church order, cast ourselves into the hands of our opponents, relinquished our right in the place of worship, let the subscribers choose our minister, *and so bid a long farewell to the gospel*, these things we could not in conscience do, so were necessitated to reject their kind advice." On the 16th of April, 1775 "it was agreed by a majority of eighteen brethren to dismiss Mr. Hextal from his office as pastor, minister, and teacher," and the Rev. Mr. Miller was appointed to minister in his place. This fall of the curtain produced a sharp contention between those who wished Mr. Hextal to remove, and those who wished him to remain. Trouble was looming ahead, and on 30th of July "It was agreed at a church meeting to indemnify the Rev. Mr. Miller from any trouble, cost, or damage that he may have incurred by entering the pulpit at the desire of the trustees and members of the church, and on which account a law-suit has been commenced against him and the members of the church," This agreement is signed by three elders and four deacons.

"November 25th, 1775, this day came on trial in the Court of King's Bench, in London, between the Rev. Mr. Hextal, who was Plaintiff, and several officers and members of the church, Defendants. A great majority of the church having dismissed him, he applied to the Court for a Rule, to require the defendants to show cause why a Writ of Mandamus should not issue requiring them to restore him to the use of the pulpit of this Meeting. Upon the trial his Counsel endeavoured to overturn the Deed, he and some others making affidavit that former ministers had not been chosen according to the Deed, which gives power to the church, upon giving six days public notice by the deacons, to elect, place, and displace a minister as they shall think proper. And it is here recorded as a memorable instance of the goodness of God, and a very kind appearance of Providence in our behalf, that the cause was given in our favour; as thereby our properties as men were secured to us, which were endeavoured to be taken from us, and our privileges as Christians we had been deprived of had our opponents succeeded, as they were endeavouring to overturn the Independency of the Church, and to bring in subscribers to an equal vote with the Church in the choice of a Minister. May this instance

of God's goodness not only be recorded here, but may every member of this Church bear a grateful sense of it continually upon their minds."

The choice of an assistant was the occasion, if not the cause, of this painful dispute. Excluding its most distressing features, a set of circumstances somewhat similar occurred at Kettering two years before. There was some dissatisfaction with the ministry of the Rev. John Fuller, at whose ordination, in 1772, Mr. Hextal had taken part. Mr. Richard Fuller, a cousin of the pastor, was proposed as an assistant. This was opposed both by the pastor and a number of his friends, and, there being no prospect of a peaceful settlement, the pastor resigned his charge; but, "for a time he supplied the congregation with others, always behaving with a good temper and spirit, although his ministry was not by several approved."

Mr. Hextal left Castle Hill, with a number of his friends, and formed the church in King's Street, then called King's Head Lane. These friends were admonished for withdrawing themselves from the ordinances of the church, and, as they did not return, they were declared to be no longer members, and among the number was Mary, the daughter of Dr. Doddridge. Month after month, members were "cut off" from the church roll, as an autumn frost cuts leaves from a tree. It was the winter of her discontent, but not without glimpses of a genial sun. Mr. Hextal became a pamphleteer, and like Mr. Fuller with "good temper and spirits." In one of his articles he says, "It gives us pleasure to find our candid brethren of the Church of England have given their testimony against such party zeal and bigotry, and we hope we shall retain the most grateful sense of it, and value and love good men of every party, and esteem those of another communion who excel in real Christianity. . . . May all denominations of Christians consider that of all superstitions that of hating and ill-using our neighbour on account of religious opinions, which do not affect the peace of society, is of all others the most unreasonable and dangerous." These noble words were the expression of a truly chivalrous spirit. In the year of his separation from the church he loved when there was so much to boil his blood, he invited the Baptist Church to hold its meetings in Castle Hill while College Street Chapel was being enlarged. This good feeling had lasted long between the two churches; there was often an exchange of preachers. Mr. Ryland had preached for Dr. Doddridge, who gave out the hymns; and, as often as needed, Castle Hill vestry was lent for the use of candidates when they were baptised in the river Nene, then running at the bottom of

the hill on which the chapel stands. That good feeling between the churches lives still; may it live for ever in every church in the land!

Anonymous letters in newspapers are generally unworthy of notice. But here is one such as we seldom see. Published in the "Northampton Mercury," in spite of its verbosity, there is an echo in its well-meaning jingle which makes it worth repeating. It was written a few days after Mr. Hextal left Castle Hill.

Northampton, April 27th, 1775.

"To the Rev. Mr. H——.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—Be not discouraged. That God whom you have so long loved, so long honoured, and so long served; that God before whose face you have walked, who has fed you all your life long unto this day, and who has led you hitherto through this wilderness, this vale of tears and afflictions; that Jesus whose servant you are, of whose gospel for so many years you have been a faithful preacher, who has promised to be with his disciples to the end of the world; this God and Father, this Lord Jesus, this gracious and compassionate Head of the Church will never leave you, will never forsake you now that grey hairs and painful bodily afflictions have overtaken you in their service; but be assured, dear Sir, they *will* be with you, they *will* bless you, they *will* comfort you, they *will* support you. And that these blessings may descend from heaven on your honest heart and on your venerable head, I am persuaded every worthy, benevolent mind in this town and county will sincerely and heartily join in saying Amen, and Amen.

"I am, your affectionate friend,
"A. B."

To the close of his checkered life Mr. Hextal ministered to the church in King Street. He worked hard for a new chapel, wrote an appeal to the public for help, and lived to see the success of his efforts. His first sermon in the new chapel was on Psalm xxvii. 4, "One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in His temple." That first sermon was his last. What he had long sought he found. In the vision of God's beauty he forgot his troubles, and in the service of the upper temple he found a ministry as perfect as his own joy. His memory is kept green by a memorial tablet in the vestibule of King Street chapel:—

Love one another.

Sacred

To the memory of the Rev. William Hextal
A faithful minister of the gospel
and sometime pastor of this Christian Society
who remarkably exhibited in his life
what he most warmly recommended from the pulpit
unfeigned piety to God and universal benevolence to man
Having endured many and great afflictions
both in body and mind
He entered into that rest which remains
for the people of God
November 4th, 1777. Aged 66.

JOHN HORSEY.

1777 to 1827.

"An honest man is none the worse because a dog barks at him."

The troubles the past few years brought with them, left behind them the grace to endure, and so far had done good service to the church. After the removal of Mr. Hextal there were two years of waiting; it was the anticipation of the watchman waiting for the dawn. The first sure signs of light were seen at Ringwood, Hampshire, coming from an old church founded in 1672. John Horsey had long been its pastor, rooted in the love of its people. It is not known when he settled there, but it is known that on the 4th of May, 1746, he preached a sermon there on "The victory obtained over the rebels in Scotland" the month before. In 1747 he removed to Warminster, but in four years he was back again at Ringwood. He had given his own Christian name to his son, and God had given the boy grace to love and choose his father's work as a minister of the gospel. John Horsey, the younger, entered Homerton College in 1771, studied under Drs. John Conder and Daniel Fisher, and, having finished his course of study, left college just as Mr. Hextal left Castle Hill. It is supposed that he came to Castle Hill as a "supply" as soon as he left Homerton in 1775. In August, the following year, he was invited to the pastorate, but he declined the call, or hesitated to accept it, probably on account of the unsettled state of the church. In February, 1777, the call was renewed, and, what was of rare occurrence, presented personally by the deacons. After further consideration it was accepted on the 2nd of March; on the 13th of April he was received into the church, and, on the 14th of May, ordained, having, as he said, "accepted the pressing solicitations of my friends." The membership of the church—239 in the time of Doddridge—had been reduced to 64; but Mr. Horsey began his ministry with signs of blessing: his preaching was attractive, God worked with him, hope revived, and the congregation increased. The members of the church had been dropping off like autumn leaves, but members were now added by twos and threes, as blossoms appear in spring. In these days men often leave the church of their fathers because they live so far away, they can't walk from one end of a town to the other; in those days men had stouter limbs or stouter hearts, for under Mr. Horsey's ministry we can see members of the church coming back from King Street, and coming in from Kingsthorpe, Duston, Hardingstone, Moulton, Harlestone, Harpole, and Kislingbury: they walked by the gos-

Rev. JOHN HORSEY.

pel and could walk to it. With the grace of God, a cultured mind, polite manners, a genial disposition, the preacher had a fine presence and a handsome face; it might have been said of him as it was said of Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, "He was the beauty of holiness." He married the daughter of the Rev. Samuel King, forty-five years the beloved pastor of the church at Welford. In reporting the marriage to Mrs. Doddridge, Job Orton says, "He had something handsome lately left him by an uncle, which makes it, in the common language, a good match for her." It was good for many others—they consecrated their gifts and grace to the service of man, and the church had rest.

It was the custom for members on joining the church to give their experience. Mr. Thomas Hilles and Mrs. Sarah Haynes were both candidates for church fellowship, but, "As both these worthy persons objected to what is called giving an experience as a necessary prerequisite to their admission to the Table of the Lord, judging it not warranted by precept or precedent in the New Testament—the only infallible rule of faith and practice—and an impediment to others as well as themselves in the way of discharging this duty. Upon proposing and stating the case, the general opinion of the church was fairly and peaceably obtained, and the following resolution passed unanimously at a full meeting of the church:—'Resolved, that in conformity to what has been the custom of admitting persons as members of this church, by their delivering in what is called an experience, anyone preferring that mode shall still be at full liberty to adopt it upon their admission amongst us, but as it is to some an impediment to their obeying the Saviour's dying command, it shall not be insisted upon for the future.' Mr. Hilles and Mrs. Haynes were then admitted accordingly by a unanimous vote of the church immediately after this resolution was passed."

In 1789 the Academy was removed from Daventry back to Northampton, and placed under Mr. Horsey's care. Under Doddridge and Ashworth the literary reputation of the academy was higher than that of most institutions of a similar kind, but in the highest things it had begun to wane. The storm of "Deistical Controversy" had blown itself out, but something like an epidemic of "free thought" was scourging the academies in all parts of the country. The mysterous nature of our Lord was subjected to intellectual tests—men were trying to fathom a deep too profound for our limited powers, and if their ineffectual effort did not sour the students' temper, it spoiled their influence, and hindered their work. Before they left Daventry, "the students of the academy were about equally

divided between Arians and Trinitarians," and some were inclined to be Unitarians. First assistant in it, then principal of it, Mr. Thomas Belsham, though educated as a Calvinist, adopted Socinian views, became the champion of Unitarianism; but being a man of honour, he resigned his position when he felt his convictions at variance with his office. If all teachers were as scrupulous to-day there would be many a vacant office to-morrow. In this state of mental confusion Mr. Horsey took charge of the academy. He could not reduce the chaos to order. "He was noted for a peculiar amiableness of disposition, and goodness of heart, with a happy method of communicating knowledge, and of exciting the youthful mind to useful enquiry. He was courteous in his manner, and though he never lost sight of the respect due to his station, he did not by overacting the part of tutor, keep at an unreasonable distance the youth who possessed a tolerable share of good feeling and well regulated affection." The milk of human kindness curdled in him at the thought of dogmatic austerity. In one of his thought strewn letters Count Tolstoi has recently said, "Strange though it may seem to say so, nothing has so much hindered the propagation of the truth as the too hasty desire to make others accept it. . . . Seek not outward success, visible to all men; neither count your proselytes, but seek to live in the truth, never to deviate from it, and your influence over men, though perhaps invisible to you is sure to follow. . . . It may be said by some that such a view of the duty of a Christian in our time must lead to inactivity and apathy; but that will be said only by those who have not yet had any experience in the matter, and such an opinion would not only be unfair, but entirely opposed to the truth." These are forceful words. It was said of the greatest Teacher, "he shall not strive, nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the street." Too lovingly modest to use ostentatious force, he had no hasty desire to make others accept his truth. Lightning startles us, compels attention, and is occasionally useful, but it is the gentle light which makes earth like heaven. Mr. Horsey shone like the sunbeam. He was so anxious not to give an undue bias to his pupils, that in the lecture room, it was difficult to ascertain his own views on controverted doctrines. Suspicion arising as to his sentiments on the person and work of Christ, he resigned his office as tutor, after nine years of service, and the brilliant career of the academy was at an end in Northampton. It was removed to Wymondley, in Hertfordshire. "The evil that men do lives after them," that is the law of institutions, and the church of Doddridge was yet to feel the force of this swirl of

opinions, agitating the minds of studious young men where and when they should have been grounded in ascertained truth.

His tutorship gone, Horsey found plenty of work in other ways. In the Protestant Dissenters Magazine he wrote a set of letters on "The History and Influence of the Academy"; published several volumes of sermons, and was in great request for preaching ordination and other special sermons in the county. He even "stated and defended infant baptism in Moorfields, London." He was a busy man in a busy age. While free thought took one direction and stunted spiritual life, evangelical fervour took another course and extended the kingdom of God. John Howard was visiting the gaols of Europe, revealing their horrors, and pleading for reformation. During his pastorate Horsey saw the birth and watched the growth of Sunday Schools in 1783; a society for the abolition of the slave trade in 1787; the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792; the London Missionary Society in 1795; British Schools in 1796; the Religious Tract Society in 1799; the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; National Schools, as a check to the prosperity of British Schools, in 1811; the Northampton Provident Society in the same year; the repeal of the Conventicle and Five Mile Act in 1812; the Congregational Home Missionary Society in 1819. This fire of truth and love was burning up apathy and wrong, yet Horsey did not live to see the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, which disgraced our Statute Book till the year 1828. After more than two score years of peaceful strength, still growing in the esteem of the church, increasing infirmities reduced the pastor's power to serve it, and again it was on the look out for an assistant. A committee was appointed to obtain supplies. It is instructive to follow them in their search. After having preached with much acceptance the Rev. J. Hoppus was invited to supply the pulpit for three months. In his reply from Islington, then *near* London, he said, "I cannot just at present engage for a long time together, nor do I think it would be advisable under existing circumstances, as what I have seen of the religious world leads me to a firm persuasion that the great ends for which a Christian church is formed cannot by any means be attained where there is not a unanimity of sentiment and heart on the infinitely momentous subject of the person of Jesus Christ. My own views on this subject are so decidedly Trinitarian, and I feel it necessary so constantly to blend them with all my representations, even the most practical, of religion, both on my own account, and on account of my conviction that God's blessing is to be expected only in connection with these views,

that I could not by any consideration be induced, I trust, to moderate them. I say this without being conscious of any improper and unchristian feelings, but to exonerate myself from all responsibility, as to what may be the consequence of my preaching, or other doctrinal exercises, on the minds of the hearers in those places where I am called at any time to administer, as an unworthy instrument, the Word of God."

This was the shadow of a coming event. The reference to "existing circumstances," indicate opinions existing in the congregation to which decidedly Trinitarian views would not be acceptable. Mr. Thomas Grundy, the secretary of the committee, says in his reply to this letter, "I cannot suffer myself to conclude without expressing my heartfelt concurrence in the sentiments contained in your letter. They are such as in my opinion ought, regardless of consequences, to animate every faithful minister of Jesus Christ in his addresses to perishing sinners." Mr. Grundy was sound in the Trinitarian faith, and to him was given the most important office in obtaining supplies for the pulpit. It is only a straw on the current, but we can see how it runs. Mr. Hoppus preached for three Sundays, and then declined to render any further service. In 1804 he accepted the call of the church at Yardley Hastings, and he remained there, highly esteemed, for thirty years. Requests were then made to the Rev. T. Coleman, of Wollaston, author of "Memorials of the Independent Churches of Northants"; to the Revs. Pinkerton, of Weedon; Vernon, of Towcester; Gear, of Harborough; Wittenburg, of Daventry; and to the students of Newport Academy and of Wymondley College. While the pastor was failing in health, and the Church was seeking an assistant, inwardly it was thriving, and outwardly enlarging its bounds. The Sunday School had outgrown the capacity of the building in which it met, and an application was made to the authorities of the town for land on which to build new schoolrooms.

In January, 1826, the following letter was sent to

"The Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Northampton.

"The congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembled for Divine Worship at the Castle Hill Meeting House having formerly experienced the liberality of the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton in providing them with an additional piece of land for the purpose of enlarging the burial ground attached to the place, are again induced to trespass upon their kindness. For some years past they have supported a Sunday

School for girls only, and lately a boys' school has been established which has increased beyond their most sanguine expectations, so that the room they have occupied has become too small to accommodate the additional members, it is therefore the intention of the congregation (should this request be complied with) to erect a new building two stories high of sufficient dimensions to receive the girls in the upper room, and the boys in the lower one. To enable them to accomplish this desirable object they beg leave therefore respectfully to solicit a further grant of land, adjoining the burying ground on the North side, which now forms the road, on which to erect a new school. Instead of the present roadway, they propose to remove part of the Castle Hill, to form a new one of the same width as the present road, to pass immediately in front of the proposed building, as described in the annexed plan, from which the extent of the request with the proposed alteration on the road will be seen. As the education of the children of the poor is the sole object the subscribers to this school have in view, they trust that no other statement is requisite to induce the Mayor and Corporation to grant this request, knowing that the establishment of Sunday Schools must be a principle means of preventing the increase of vice and immorality, and of promoting the interests of virtue and religion among the rapidly increasing population of this town."

The Mayor, Mr. David Hewlet, and the Corporation were kindly disposed, the request was granted, the ground was bought, and the new schools were built for something over £500. It exhibits the ruling spirit of the church. It was a great thing to do, and in its hindered condition it was a splendid thing that the church had the will to do it. It did more. In October, 1826, a meeting of the subscribers was called to consider the best plan for raising money to defray the necessary expenses incurred in supplying the congregation with ministers during the illness of Mr. Horsey. "It was resolved that every subscriber should pay down the amount of one half of his yearly subscription for that purpose." One can feel the strong pulse of the church beating in the old records of the committee for supplies, as he reads copies of the letters sent and the answers received. It was searching here and there for a man of God. Hopes were raised, deferred, defeated, then discerned in another place. It was a testing time, and the church endured, bravely standing by its afflicted pastor with the patience of Christ, and by these things men live.

On November 6th, 1826 Mr. Horsey sent the following letter

"To the Gentlemen composing the Committee for obtaining supplies for the Castle Hill Society.

"Gentlemen,—The prosperity of the Interest at Castle Hill, is the object, I doubt not of your united concern. But how to secure it under present circumstances is a matter, I think, difficult to determine. The bodily indisposition with which Providence has afflicted me seems to yield nothing to medical treatment, nor, perhaps, can we reasonably hope for more than a restoration to *occasional* service. The uncertainty of which requires something decisive to be done. But the question is what? I look with both wonder and thankfulness on the long period of past labour, but the machine must wear out in whatever service it is employed, and the period in this case seems nearly arrived. What then can be done? I don't know at all what to say upon this head, though it often occupies my thoughts. But in general, I am willing to concur in anything I am able. A supply for a time, occasional assistance, or retiring entirely, and giving in my resignation. But I really know not what to propose, as most for general good, and permanent peace. Give me leave then, gentlemen, with confidence in your deliberate consideration, and friendly attachment (so often manifested) to refer the matter to your superior judgment. It is my daily prayer, that the God we have served so long (though imperfectly indeed) may not forsake us at last, but that Righteousness and Peace may prevail among us, and among all the churches of His Son.

"I am Gentlemen, most respectfully, your friend and servant,

"JOHN HORSEY."

To this pathetic letter the church replied, by passing a unanimous resolution, "That Mr. Horsey should be continued in the pastorate, and receive his usual salary till after Christmas, when probably some alteration might be found necessary." In the meantime the details of church life were placed under careful supervision. On 1st January, 1827, "It was agreed that the Sunday School children should attend the public service in the Meeting House alternately, the boys on one part of the day, and the girls on the other. Mr. Walker was requested to inform the superintendent of the girls' school of the wishes of the committee in this respect, leaving the choice of attending with the girls either in the morning or the afternoon." The children were provided for, but the church and congregation were deprived of the oversight of a pastor, there being no improvement in Mr. Horsey's condition. The committee then sent this letter to the Rev. T. Morell, tutor of Wymondley College:—

"Northampton, January 11th, 1827.

"Dear Sir,—I am requested by the Committee appointed by the Subscribers attending at the Castle Hill Meeting House to procure supplies during the continued illness of Mr. Horsey, to beg you to inform me as early as possible whether you can favour us with a supply for a month or six weeks from among the students at your institution who would be likely to prove acceptable to the church and congregation. It may be proper to state that from the continued indisposition of our revered pastor it is quite unlikely that he will again be able to attend to the duties of his office, so that there is every probability that an acceptable supply might be soon chosen to succeed him. Should you at present have no one in your institution whom you can recommend, the Committee will feel obliged by your informing them if you know of any minister likely to suit us. Since Mr. Weaver was with us we have been supplied by the neighbouring ministers of the Northampton Association, excepting three Sabbaths by Mr. Hoppus, of Islington, who has permitted me to refer you to him for any further information you may require respecting the present state and future prospects of the congregation. I shall therefore merely add that no supplies are engaged beyond the third Sabbath in this month, we shall therefore feel obliged if you can serve us for the fourth Sabbath, and as many succeeding ones as convenient.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"Thomas Grundy."

On Friday, 29th January, 1827, the church, after the most mature deliberation, came to the conclusion that the prosperity of the church and congregation would be materially promoted by accepting the resignation of Mr. Horsey, and their good sense was expressed to him in the following courteous and sympathetic letter:—

"Rev. and Dear Sir,

"At the period when your letter was laid before the subscribers, and their resolution was framed, they trusted that before this time they might have been permitted to see you again in that pulpit from which for upwards of half-a-century you have dispensed the word of life and salvation. The great Head of the Church, who can work by what instruments He pleases, has however seen fit in the allwise dispensations of His providence to disappoint us, and we have still to lament that we are as sheep having no shepherd. Although you then made known your wish to be guided in relation to your connection

with the church and congregation by their determination, yet trusting to these hopes which are thus disappointed they could not listen to the painful suggestion of a separation, and trusted the alternative might be spared them; and it was on this account they requested you to continue to hold the pastoral office till the close of the year, after which time it was remarked that some alteration would probably be found requisite. That period has now passed by, and after the most mature deliberation the church and committee of subscribers think that the present welfare and future prosperity of the interest at Castle Hill, as well as your own comfort and peace of mind, will be best promoted by your adopting the last of those plans which you proposed for the consideration of the committee, namely, resigning entirely that charge which you have so honourably filled, the rewards of which we trust you will receive at the hands of Him to whom all must give account of their stewardship. It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the reasons which have guided us in this determination. We may, however, be allowed to say they relate both to the temporal concerns of the congregation, as well as to their spiritual wants. The present mode of procuring supplies has been found more expensive than our finances will allow, and on this account a settled minister is deemed necessary. As to our spiritual concerns, you, dear sir, must be aware that without the friendly guidance and directing hand of a pastor to go in and out before us, we have but little ground to hope that the members of our church will be edified and built up in the most holy faith—that discipline can be exercised, or that our members will be increased. We have now only to add that the committee, in concurrence with the subscribers propose to continue fifty pounds per annum to you during your life, with the use of the house you now reside in. And entreating your most fervent prayers that we may be directed to the choice of a pastor who shall faithfully proclaim to perishing sinners the good news of pardon through Jesus Christ. Wishing you every needed temporal blessing, but more especially all that Divine assistance which alone can give you comfort in the trying hour of affliction, and enable you to triumph over death itself.

"We are, dear Sir,

"For the Church and Congregation,

"Yours very sincerely,

"John Wood, Richard Hedge, *Deacons.*"

It was a grateful tribute to a beloved pastor, right feeling appreciating a ministry rich in goodness and rare in length. Written on the 29th of January, this letter was not delivered

till the 17th of March. Mr. Horsey was ill, and his thoughtful deacons would not add to his trouble. He rallied for a time, received the message, and his pastoral work was done. He was ordained just a year before Mr. T. N. Toller, of Kettering, a student of the academy, and after he had served the church there for 45 years, Mr. Horsey lived to take part in his funeral service, lived to help at the ordination of Mr. Toller's son, Thomas, who succeeded his father in the pastorate, and retained it for 54 years. These three men thus linked together occupied three pulpits for one hundred and fifty-two years.

Mr. Horsey wrote a volume of "Lectures to Young Persons on the Intellectual and Moral Power of Man; the Existence, Character, and Government of God; and the Evidences of Christianity: a Summary of his Academical Lectures to his Students." This book was reviewed in the "Congregational Magazine," May, 1828; and the reviewer speaks of Mr. Horsey as, "opposed to Doddridge in those leading points which formed the most prominent and most valuable features of his Christian character." "Alas!" he wails, "that the pulpit of a Doddridge should be occupied by a disciple of Socinius, yet such was the author of the volume before us." There is abundant evidence that Horsey was different from Doddridge, there is evidence that in the lectures Christ is only once spoken of as a Saviour, but there is no evidence that Mr. Horsey was a Socinian. It is very easy to grow a crop of unjust criticism when the seed has once been sown. A recent writer has borrowed some of this seed. In an article on "Doddridge Church" he exhausts the ministry of Mr. Horsey in three lines and a quarter, and gives one line to say, "His heretical views no doubt accelerated the general decadence." That is ruthless work. If a beloved pastor after fifty-three years of service can be introduced and dismissed in three lines and a quarter, they ought to consist of well-sifted truth. The hasty writer speaks of "no doubt," but in the absence of any evidence to support the charge it may be both doubted and denied. As we shall see, there was Unitarianism in the church, but according to the evidence before us it was in the pew, not in the pulpit, and there was not heat enough in the pulpit to burn it up or to melt it down. As a rule, the preaching of that day was dry and vague, even where the doctrine was evangelical it was not driven home with any earnest force; and Horsey had a nervous hesitation to employ dogmatic assertion. In that atmosphere Unitarianism could keep itself alive. In fact, it was the opinion of Unitarians that matters of doctrine should not separate Christian brethren, and it was their practice to worship with other persons. They were

found in the Episcopal Church, as well as in Dissenting churches. Like leaven in the meal, they hoped to leaven the whole mass. They were found in the Academy. Even Doddridge himself was accused of looseness of theology because he received into his Academy any student who applied for admission without regard to his creed. It was open to Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, or Unitarians. They could take their own creed in, hold it while there, and bring it out unchanged, because they were under the care of a man of honour, as well as a man of learning; knowing that a man cannot be dragged into truth by the collar of his coat, he respected another man's conscience as well as his own. It does not follow that a man is a rogue because a dog yelps at his heels.

In most of the academies the teaching was pliant, not so much from doubt of the great truths of the Gospel, as from respect to the spirit of free enquiry. From the Academy Unitarianism got into the church. One who knows anything of student-life can easily trace the process. For years the students had been making friends in the congregation, finding opportunities to talk of their studies and air their views of theology. It is in the grain of a student to turn such an occasion to account, especially would it be so when Unitarianism was but one phase of a growing revolt from the loveless creed of the higher Calvinists; it was bound to spread in the pew when it was not earnestly checked in the pulpit. Then from the church it got into the manse. Mr. Horsey's son and his three daughters joined the Unitarians. Unhappily, it is too common for children to forsake the better way of their fathers. Against all suspicion that they were encouraged by his teaching we have the clearest evidence that the Atonement of the Cross was the anchor of his soul. Shortly before his death he stated the reason of the victorious hope that was in him in these memorable words: "Whenever the summons shall arrive to call me from time to eternity, I wish to leave the world in the character of a penitent believer, lying at the foot of the cross imploring divine mercy through the merit and mediation of Christ, the great Redeemer and Saviour of the lost." Socinians do not speak so; they have no hope from the cross; they find another basis for divine mercy than the merit and mediation of Christ. This unreserved confession of the attitude of his mind, this restful expression of the experience of his heart, are stated so formally and impressively as to make it clear that he believed the doctrine of Christ, received the benefit of His meritorious death, and that he wished to be remembered and to be judged by this evangelical belief.

The Rev. L. B. Edwards, pastor of King's Street Church, was chosen to preach his funeral sermon, and Mr. Horsey himself chose the text—1 Cor. xv. 55-57, "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law; but thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." As he met the last enemy he stooped to conquer; and the church at Castle Hill keeps him in loving remembrance by a marble tablet, on which is inscribed—

In Memory of
The Rev. John Horsey
Upwards of 51 years pastor of this congregation
Who died on the 12th day of May, 1827,
Aged 73 years
Also
Of Mrs. Hannah Horsey
Wife of the above
Who died May the 8th, 1825,
Aged 72 years.
Their record is on high.

CHARLES J. HYATT.

1827 to 1833.

"Many a cow stands in the meadow, and looks wistfully at the common."

The freshness of a young life followed the declining vigour of old age, but between the golden foliage of autumn and the fragrant greenery of spring there was a winter of two years. Like Mr. Horsey, Mr. Hyatt was a son of the manse. The boy was born in 1805, and from his childhood inhaled the atmosphere the Holy Spirit breathes upon a godly house. His heart turned to the ministry as a flower turns to the sun. The Rev. Charles Hyatt, of Shadwell, London, had no greater joy than to watch and foster the unfolding graces of Charles his son. He grew beautifully religious in spirit and successfully studious in habit, but so delicate in body as to make it doubtful if he could stand against the blustering world outside. His fine capacities were so carefully cultured and stored with knowledge that at the age of fifteen he was ready for the wider training of a college. The Northampton Academy had been removed to Wymondley; thither he was sent to the care of the Rev. T. Morell, and there he spent six thoughtful years, growing in wisdom and favour. On page 171 we have seen the letter sent to Mr. Morell; this was his wise and hopeful reply:—

"Dear Sir,

"I feel deeply interested in the cause at Northampton, and shall be happy to be instrumental in providing the church, which once enjoyed the labours of a Doddridge—and has so long been under the pastoral care of my valued friend, Mr. Horsey—with a suitable pastor. At the same time, I feel, both from my own knowledge and the representations of Mr. Hoppus, that it is a station of considerable difficulty as well as of great importance. There are many of my pupils whom I should not hesitate to send to *some* places that I should not think of sending to Northampton, and the rather as it seems very properly to be felt desirable that such a supply should be sent as may be likely to be approved as a pastor. This occasions my chief difficulty in making the selection. I will, however, in this letter, just state how we are circumstanced, and request that you would, in a subsequent letter, state which of the persons I shall mention shall be first sent as a supply. I have, in reflecting on the subject, been able to fix my eye but on three who appear to me at all proper for such a station. The first is Mr. C. Hyatt, son of the Rev. C. Hyatt, of London, a youth of great excellence, eminent piety, decided attachment to evangelical truth, and one who, if I mistake not, will, if spared, prove a valuable pastor

Rev. CHARLES HYATT.

and a useful minister. He has just now completed his academical course, and I should have no hesitation in sending him, but that his health is, at present, somewhat precarious. He has, during the last year, had three successive inflamatory attacks, which have left behind so much debility that he could not with safety undertake, at present, *three services on the Sabbath*, which I suppose would be desired.

"The second is Mr. Giles, who lately left us, and is now preaching at Stretton. He is a young man of superior mind, a good talent in composition, and *decidedly*, but not *violently*, orthodox in sentiment. I think he is fitted for a station very superior to that which he at present occupies, but as he seems to consider it his duty, at present, to continue at Stretton—where, I hope, he has been useful in allaying strifes and divisions—I should feel some difficulty in unsettling him. There could, however, be no objection, as he is not actually ordained at Stretton, to writing to ascertain whether he would supply at Northampton for two or three Sabbaths, in which case I would, if necessary, send a supply to Stretton during his absence. Mr. Giles is one who, I think, in point of talent, is, on the whole, the best suited of the three I am about to mention for Northampton.

The other individual is Mr. Weaver, who has already been among you, and, therefore, of whom I need say nothing more, except that he is a pious, excellent, and improving young minister, who is likely hereafter to make a highly reputable and valuable pastor wherever it may please the Great Head of the Church to station him. He could come if requested (though it would be a little irregular, as he is not yet among the seniors). My only objection is that he is in the midst of his academical lectures, and should stay a year-and-a-half longer.

Thus, my dear Sir, I have put you in possession of our present resources. I might have mentioned two others, but they are on the point of settling, one at St. Neots, and the other at Wareham, in Dorsetshire. Perhaps you will be so good as to take the opinion of some of your committee as to which of the above may be preferred, and I would endeavour to answer their wishes. At any rate, I will take care to supply you on the 28th, and shall probably, if I hear nothing further, send Mr. Hyatt in the first instance for a month. Wishing you, my dear Sir, and the Christian friends with whom you are associated, divine direction in this important matter, and requesting to be remembered to Mr. Horsey and family.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

Wymondley College, THOS. MORELL.
Near Stevenage, 16th Dec. 1826.

A difficult and delicate task was thus laid on the committee in making the right selection between two gifted young men. Mr. Giles had friends in court, some of the congregation had heard him with pleasure, and recommended him with warmth, and this turned the balance in his favour. But Mr. Hyatt had a better friend in a higher court, and he disposed of events in his own mysterious way. Mr. Giles was chosen, but a critical event was pending in the church, and God took the case in his own hand, and chose Mr. Hyatt as the most fitting man to have charge of it. The secretary replied two months later:—

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 16th of December was not received till the sixth day after date, or it most certainly would have been answered before Mr. Hyatt had left Wymondley, and in that case our friends, from the high character you have given him, would have preferred Mr. Giles. Though Mr. Hyatt has been very generally approved, yet it would give our friends here great pleasure if Mr. Giles could be induced to spend a few Sabbaths with us And it has been thought a letter from you would have more weight with him than one from Northampton, I have been requested to say that the committee will feel obliged if you immediately, on receipt of this, make known our wish to Mr. Giles, and in the most urgent way you think proper, request him to supply us for a few Sabbaths after Mr. Hyatt's engagement is ended. Should Mr. Giles agree to this, you will probably make the arrangement for Mr. Hyatt to take Mr. Giles' place at Stretton, and in that case, some one of our friends here will take Mr. Hyatt to Stretton in a gig, and bring Mr. Giles back with him to Northampton . . . . where there is a daily increasing scope for usefulness. On your receipt of a letter from Mr. Giles, you will oblige us by informing us of his determination immediately, or it will perhaps be a more expeditious plan if you request Mr. Giles to write to me on receipt of your letter, stating his determination, and either Mr. Hyatt or myself will inform you of the result.

"The Rev. T. Morell, T. G." (Thomas Grundy).
"Feb. 19th, 1827.

The Divine Spirit acts directly upon the human spirit as teacher and guide, but He also acts with a host of stimulating influences from men and things, and often chooses to act through the simplest of things. A letter stopped on its way for a few days is a small affair, but it was the hinge on which the gate to Castle Hill opened for Mr. Hyatt; and it could not be closed by the ingenious, and even feverish urgency of the committee. They were in the meadow, and were looking wistfully at the common. Whether Mr. Giles refused to come, or the

desire for him grew less as the esteem for Mr. Hyatt grew more, we have no means of knowing, but we know that he grew the more in favour the more he was known. He was invited to supply for a month longer; then for four months as a candidate for the co-pastorate, *only two objecting*. Mr. Horsey was removed by death before the term expired, and Mr. Hyatt became pastor. Thirty-eight years before, Mr. Horsey had delivered the charge at the ordination of Mr. John Wood, at Rothwell, under similar circumstances. After a ministry of forty years Mr. Gregson was offered the service of Mr. Wood as co-pastor, which he accepted; but Mr. Gregson died while the arrangements were being made, and Mr. Wood took and kept his place for twenty-one years.

At the ordination of Mr. Hyatt, Mr. Edwards, of King Street, took part. The spirit of Christian love had healed the breach between the two churches. Mr. Hyatt's father offered the ordination prayer; and Mr. Grey, of College Street, concluded a hallowed service. Full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, fresh in soul and word and work, Mr. Hyatt's fervent ministry brought a revival of spiritual life. His tutor had rightly judged his character and power; his devoted zeal made him a valuable pastor. "A very pearl of young manhood," his ministry soon proved to be both a solvent and a cement. The tenderness which shrank from dogmatic assertion in Mr. Horsey was the vogue of politeness. Men who doubted or denied the characteristic doctrines of Christianity could sit in comparative peace under a ministry which never drove the truth home in pungent application. Mr. Hyatt also was tender, but he belonged to a new order. In him tenderness was a high principle; he was too earnest to sacrifice truth to amiability, and under his preaching a negative religion had to fight or flee. He had been at Castle Hill long enough to let men see where he stood and to feel what he was. Decided in his views of the Gospel, clear in his statements of man's absolute need of it, he preached it with unction, his word was with power, and the non-contents withdrew. At the very first church meeting after his ordination the following irritating but respectful letter was read:—

"November 22nd, 1827.

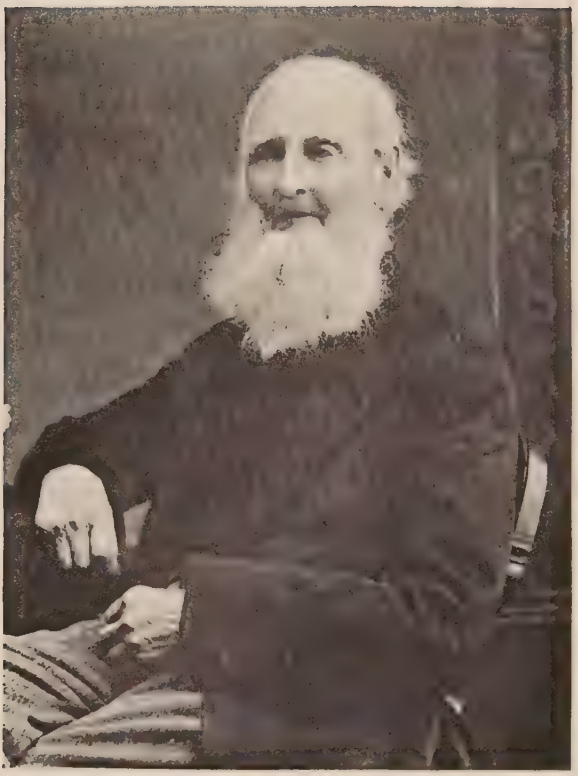
"To the Church of Christ assembling under the care of the Rev. Charles Hyatt.

"We, the undersigned members of the Church of Christ assembling in Castle Hill meeting house, having in obedience to the dictates of our consciences united in the formation of a society of Christians, whose worship is directed solely to God the Father, agreeably to the express injunctions of our Saviour,

deem it proper to withdraw, and hereby beg leave to announce our withdrawment from the worship and communion of the church to which we have hitherto belonged, on account of the discordance existing between the mode of worship as there practised, and that which we believe to be enjoined and observed by Christ and His apostles."

This was signed by nine members, who, with others of a like mind, formed themselves into a Unitarian Church, and Castle Hill was left with but fifty members. The seceders obtained for their meeting place the old Wesleyan Chapel, in King Street, then used only as a schoolroom. On their removal to their own place others joined them, Mr. Horsey's family among the number. "An opulent individual, once an inhabitant of the town, presented them with a munificent donation." The Unitarian Association afforded them liberal aid. The old chapel was neatly fitted up and re-opened, and on Sunday evenings was crowded, but the novelty soon wore away. They had left the meadow for the common. But the result remains, and one would like to trace it to its source.

We saw the word "Arian" bandied about in Mr. Hextal's dispute, and the thing was not far away from the word. We have evidence that from the controversy of the day Arianism got into the Academy, descended into the negation of Unitarianism, and crept into the church. Dr. Joseph Priestley, famed as a natural philosopher, was the first student for the ministry admitted into the Academy at Daventry. Keenly observant, clear in description, his mental habit helps us to trace these opposite opinions. He says with force and candour, "In my time the Academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance. . . . Our tutors, also, were of different opinions, Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clarke, the subtutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty. . . . . Notwithstanding the great freedom of our speculations and debates, the extreme of heresy among us was Arianism, and all of us, I believe, left the Academy with a belief more or less qualified of the doctrine of the Atonement." Mr. Clarke, who took the side of heresy, son of Dr. Samuel Clarke, of St. Albans, was assistant in the Academy while it was in Northampton. One may long hold a belief without being conscious of all it involves, may never know its full power till a crisis reveals it, and then he may be carried away by its force; and it is more a criminal than a critical use of our reason to toss truth and error about like balls to be caught by



Mr. MILROY.

the most alert. There are but a few steps from the Arian to the Unitarian. The Arian placed Christ at the summit of creation, above all principalities and powers, but declared that He was created, and therefore a part of creation; the Unitarian places Christ at the highest point of human beings. Both are descending a ladder, and the Unitarian takes the lowest step. The Arian denied the eternity of the Son of God; the Unitarian denies His divinity. The Arian said our Lord was inferior to the Father; the Unitarian says He was altogether human. The Arian maintained that before the worlds were made the Son of God was begotten; the Unitarian maintains that He did not exist till he was born in Bethlehem. God's nature, the Divine mode of existence, must be incomprehensible to man; we can know only as much of God as He has been pleased to reveal. We ought to shrink from overbearing assertion, but the meek He will guide in judgment. We may get a *true* knowledge of God though our knowledge can never be complete.

It is no want of respect to say of these Unitarian brethren that when they left Castle Hill Church the break was taken off its wheels. To keep a good conscience men must cling to what they hold to be the truth, and, with charity of thought, obey God rather than man. As we are so differently constituted and trained, there must be difference of opinion; our best knowledge of facts and truths is relative and partial, varying in degree—what one holds to be true may seem false to another, and in most cases we may agree to differ. Without doubt, a man's life is of more value than his creed, but there are some doctrines of more value than any man's office, and they must be stoutly, if kindly, defended, whatever becomes of the man. Churches are drawn and held together by a common belief of certain fundamental truths, and the pastor and his people must have confidence in each other, or they cannot *walk* together—when one holds what the other thinks is undermining a vital truth, they cannot even worship together, and, in the interest of good order, a change is needful. According to their own statement, these brethren went out in loyalty to conscience. Went where? To worship God in another place. The unity of Christian men is not in uniformity of belief but in that subtle force which goes deeper than sect, which pervades the soul, and keeps men together at the feet of God. Divided in theology, in modes of thought, in expression of belief, they were still one in homage to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. We do not judge them, but we cannot follow them. Castle Hill Church believes in the unity of the Divine Nature as surely as those who left it, but we accept

the revealed doctrine of the Trinity, or Tri-unity, believing that the only adequate conception of God, is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It is a mystery, and above our reason, though not contrary to it, for we ourselves are a human trinity, body, soul, and spirit—"the vegetative, the sensitive, the intellective"—they are clearly distinguishable, yet these three are one in human nature. In some places these brethren united the church on their doctrine, and the church became Unitarian; in other places they divided it, hived off and founded a church of their own. They did so in Kidderminster in the church of Baxter, in Chester in the church of Matthew Henry, but by leaving Castle Hill the church of Doddridge was saved. The discordant element gone, the church was at one in faith and life and work, and under the evangelical fervour of its pastor its youth was renewed, as he defended the truths of Christianity, and applied them to the conscience and conduct of men. "Evangelical preachers" were not the only men who preached the gospel. In the teaching of many men not called "evangelical" the truths of the gospel might be heard, but they were reasoned out as the articles of a creed. The true evangelical preacher who believed in the Holy Spirit, and sought and found His power, preached Christianity as a life. He had no new truth, but he made it seem new by the new power with which it was preached, he made it glow like light and burn like fire. That was the chief characteristic of the evangelical preacher, his word was with power. Such was the ministry of Mr. Hyatt. He had the unveiled eye which discerns the Holy Spirit's work, the open ear which hears His voice, the surrendered will which delights to obey, and God confirmed his words with signs following. There are no signs of noisy enthusiasm, no wrought up revival; the ministry was calm, thoughtful, deliberate, and the church had the grace of spiritual rest, the rest of well ordered movement.

Two years after the Unitarians left, the church cheerfully bore another loss in its membership, through a movement from without. In April, 1829, Commercial Street chapel was opened. It was one of a number of the splendid gifts of Thomas Wilson, of London. As rich in heart as in purse, he found a joy in building chapels in needy places, and in educating young men for the ministry. On the first of December the church was formed of eight members transferred for this purpose from Castle Hill and King Street churches, the ministers of both taking part in the edifying service, in which the divided streams joined to make a new river of God. The Rev. Edmund Thornton Prust was ordained on the 21st April, 1830, the first

pastor of the church, and there with sweet persuasion and loving bounty he ministered for fifty useful years.

In the same year, 1830, Castle Hill Church began to enlarge her coast in another direction. A branch Sunday School was formed in a cottage at St. James'. Separated from the town by a moor, in winter by floods, wild and neglected, St. James' End was shunned as a disreputable and even a dangerous place. It had no religious service of any sort. The "bulls" of St. James' End often "rored," and to open a Sunday School there was a daring deed, but it asserted its right and justified its claim. Gradually it began to tell on the parents through the children, and according to a competent and unbiassed witness it produced a striking change in the place. The children came in such numbers as to make a larger place a necessity. At the corner of Mill Road stood the village smithy, the fire extinguished, the blacksmith gone. This was hired and put in order, and children were the "burning sparks that flew, like chaff from a threshing floor." A curtain separated the boys from the girls, and on both sides of it, "with measur'd beat and slow," the hammer of God's word on an anvil out of sight forged many a good resolution which is doing Christian service to this day. Mr. William Roberts, a scholar in the smithy, has now been a teacher in the infant school for more than fifty years. At his "Jubilee" the teachers presented him with a testimonial befitting the joyful event.

In the midst of this growing work Mr. Hyatt was invited to become the co-pastor of his father at Ebenezer Chapel, Shadwell, and after six years of gracious ministry at Castle Hill he felt it to be his duty to go. Shadwell is one of the haunts of seamen, for whose welfare Mr. Hyatt, senior, had long been concerned. The son entered heartily into the work of his father, became superintendent of the Seamen's Mission, and in 1844 was appointed secretary of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society. To relieve his beloved father, the son took the whole weight of church work on himself. It was more than he could bear, and his body fell under the weight of glory. "In the last days of his sickness he enjoyed a continued rapture of love, hope, and joy, which was never interrupted but by attacks of pain, which ended his amiable and holy life."

JOHN BENNETT.

1833 to 1859.

"Wisdom does not always speak in Latin and Greek."

"To him that hath shall be given," that is the law of increase. The church was again without a pastor, but it had life and force, and in having these it had the right conditions for going on to get more. Instead of seeking men with "pressing solicitations," and waiting for two years, it had become a centre of attraction, and in two months it had drawn the right man in John Bennett. He was a very different man from Mr. Hyatt: in build of body Mr. Hyatt was slender, "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." Mr. Bennett was robust and ruddy, full of physical energy. Mr. Hyatt was cultured with the learning of the schools; all his life Mr. Bennett regretted that he had no academical training. Yet he was the right man, he had great natural abilities made serviceable by self-culture. If he could not speak in Latin and Greek he could speak effectively in his mother tongue. In the ascent of man, new questions arise in new circumstances, and new men with different powers are needed to deal with them. Mr. Bennett was born in the town of Wellington, Somersetshire, in 1803. His father was a soldier and a Unitarian, but his mother held evangelical truth, and it held her and enriched her with grace and spiritual force. As is generally the case, the mother impressed her character on the boy, and the beauty and power of her holy life led to the conversion of her son. As a boy of the regiment he was sent to the barrack school, to get what learning could filter through to the son of a private soldier. It was not very wide nor deep, but he added something to widen and deepen it by diligent and devout study, and he acquired an education which, though less profound and polished, was more varied and not less useful than much of the culture of a time-stained college. His heart right towards God, he joined an Independent church, and became a Sunday School teacher. As he felt his power he widened his sphere, and became a religious path-finder in a county religiously destitute, sometimes walking as far as thirty miles a day to preach in the villages. His loving devotion to Christian work attracted attention, and he was invited to become an agent of the Home Missionary Society. This Society, founded in 1819, had the courage of a strong conviction. Its design was "to evangelize Great Britain by the preaching of the gospel, uniting, encouraging, and assisting the formation of District Associations, the distribution of religious

Rev. JOHN BENNETT.

tracts, the establishment of prayer meetings and Sunday Schools, and the introduction of evangelical instruction, with every other scriptural method of awakening the inhabitants of unenlightened towns and villages to a sense of their need of the blessings of redemption." To take part in this gracious work Mr. Bennett was employed under the supervision of the Rev. B. Kent, of Barnstaple. The young evangelist had under his care seven villages and three Sunday Schools. Round this circuit he walked week after week, and in it he worked with joy and peace. In 1832 the church at Braunston, North Devon, called him to the pastorate; he accepted the call, and there as a village pastor, knowing the needs of men, he distributed the riches of Christ, and reached the topmost round of his ambition. But he soon found there was not scope enough for his enlarging powers, and he employed his surplus energy in still ministering to some of his former village stations. Preaching in the village chapel, his voice reached Castle Hill through the door left open by the removal of Mr. Hyatt. It was a long way to travel, but "a bird of the air shall carry the voice," and I think we can see the bird. We have seen Mr. Bennett's connection with the Home Missionary Society; Castle Hill was also connected with it. Deeply interested in its work Mr. Hyatt raised for its funds from £30 to £40 a year. In 1828 Charles Hyatt was sent as a deputation from the Home Missionary Society to the towns and villages of Somersetshire, and on his return he gave the committee a most gratifying report of his reception; he would certainly make the acquaintance of Mr. Bennett. No doubt this was Mr. Hyatt, senior, but, if "that which hath wings shall tell the matter," we can see how the name of Mr. Bennett may have travelled from Somersetshire to Northampton. Shortly after Mr Hyatt's resignation, Mr. Bennett visited the church at Castle Hill and preached on approbation. "His services met with considerable acceptance, and eventually the church, by a large majority, invited him to become their pastor." This is a copy of the letter by which he formally signified his acceptance of the call:—

"Braunston, July 11th, 1833.

"To the Church of Christ assembling in the Castle Hill Meeting House, Northampton.

"Dear Christian Brethren,

"You are already aware that I have received through Mr. Hagger the invitation to become your stated minister, which it was your wish should be forwarded to me. You are also acquainted with my acceptance of that invitation, as well as

the time at which I hope to commence my stated labours among you. But as it appears to be thought necessary that a more full and explicit reply should be made, in order that the same may be duly entered on the Church Books (and in the propriety of this opinion I most entirely concur), I now address myself to the solemn and interesting task of expressing more formally than I have yet done my acceptance of your invitation.

"Although during the progress of those circumstances which have led to this engagement, I have seen evidence enough to convince me that in coming among you I shall only be following the leadings of my Heavenly Master's hand; yet my mind is almost overwhelmed at the magnitude and importance of the charge which has thus devolved upon me, and of the responsibility connected with it, and I do most earnestly intreat both the Church as a body, and each member of it as an individual, fervently to remember me at a throne of grace, both in the closet and in the sanctuary, that I may be prepared for my work by that blessed Spirit who alone can effectually teach, and that when I come among you it may be in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace.

"To the deacons, as well as to some others of your number, I expressed (while I was among you) my fixed purpose to decline any invitation that may be made by *a bare* majority of members merely. Now, as at the Church Meeting the majority in my favour was very large, and as of the remaining members a great proportion have by their signatures united in the invitation, forming together a united body of nearly ninety persons out of a church containing one hundred and six members, and as of the remainder some had been absent the whole time, and could not, therefore, be reasonably considered as dissentients, and as, in addition to this, the situation was not in any degree of my seeking, I cannot help perceiving in the whole affair the finger of God. From Him I have humbly and earnestly entreated counsel and direction, and I feel firmly persuaded that in the step I am about to take I am but going where the Lord has called me.

"And now, my dear brethren, I fervently pray that the sacred engagement thus formed may be preserved in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace. I pray that this union may be made a blessing both to you and me, and conduce to the Divine glory, I believe that this is possible, because I know that our all-sufficient Redeemer can, and often does, extend His cause and glorify His name by the agency of the weakest of instruments.

"If any feeling that is in any degree inconsistent with the mild and forbearing Spirit of the Gospel of Peace has sprung

into existence, may it at once die, and may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

"I remain, Brethren, your servant and brother in the Lord,

"J. BENNETT."

He entered on his work with the insight and foresight foreshadowed in that letter. His changeful experience had given him a knowledge of men, his consecration to his work had given him power with God, and he lived down all signs of opposition. With a busy brain he had a large heart, with great natural powers he was a laborious student and an able minister of the New Testament, by faithfulness and affability he attracted and attached to him both the aged and the young. His missionary spirit made him sensitive to the needs of the world, and alert in using the resources of the church. Within a year of his settlement he thrust forth from his congregation into the harvest the Rev. Thomas Lord, who ministered to the church at Wollaston for eleven years; then removed to Brigstock, where he spent the strength of a useful life: he is now enjoying an honourable rest.

In September, 1834, Mr. Bennett was married to Miss Taylor, a maiden lady in business in the town. She was his second wife, but this was the first marriage in a dissenting chapel in Northampton. He was a pioneer in other things. In the course of his ministry he trained several young men and sent them out to be students and ministers of the Gospel; he was just as careful to secure wise and worthy men to be ministers of the State. Because he was obedient to the powers that be, he was anxious that these powers should be what they ought to be. The grace which sweetened his own soul he felt bound to diffuse, and he used human means as well as divine to exalt and purify the social and political as well as the moral and religious life of men. He had in him the military spirit of his father. Loyal to righteousness and truth, Mr. Bennett had steel in his blood, and loved a battle when right was the weapon and wrong was the foe. Well drilled, quick witted, ready in attack, adroit in defence, he was at home on the hustings. He could strike hard and often when he found a foeman he felt bound to attack, and he grew impressively eloquent in exposing the corrupt and the incapable politician, or in supporting a good man who would work for the common weal. He had come from a county were the social condition of men was wretched. "The peasantry of Somersetshire supported themselves, with such support as they had, by working on the land, getting in winter four shillings and in summer only six or seven shillings a week. Three times a day the people had potatoes and bread, with now and then a

little bit of bacon for the winner of this scanty fare. Fifteen out of twenty never tasted any other kind of food, and their clothing was equally coarse and poor." Such scenes as these made him a "political dissenter," deeply interested in the ethics of labour and the right to live. A wise doctor concerns himself about the sanitary state of the house and of the locality as well as about the bodily state of his patient. God is King of England, of all its life, of the person, of the house, of the village, of the town, of the city, of the State. The old prophets lived and toiled for the *nation*. It was the condition of the people which set their eager souls on fire. Jesus taught us to value the individual soul—He went after one lost sheep, but when he beheld the *city* he wept over it. The State is responsible for much which affects the individual, so Mr. Bennett reasoned, and "reasoned well," and he could not be indifferent to national affairs. With a fluent tongue, a powerful voice, a popular address, he was one of the forces of the town and had to be reckoned with on public questions, for he inspired enthusiasm in the cause he advocated. To those who did not know him he seemed fiery and even fierce, "but there was neither wrath nor venom in his nature, he was one of the most humble-minded men that ever lived." Humble-minded but fervent-hearted, his energy could not be pent up within the walls of one building, nor confined to one congregation, nor exhausted on one theme; it carried him out to be all things to all men, that by all means he might save some. He did not undervalue his pastoral office nor allow anything outside to interfere with his work in the church. He was all alive with a Christian spirit—in the school-room, in the Bible-class, in the mutual improvement society, in the inquiry-meeting, in the family circle, with the sick and dying, he was alike useful and beloved.

The Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union were held in the town in 1851. This was the Centenary of the death of Doddridge, and to do honour to his memory, to get inspiration from his life, were the principal reasons for choosing Northampton as the place of meeting. The Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., delivered an address on Doddridge, and spoke with such fervid eloquence that the whole assembly was strangely impressed, and many strong men were melted to tears. At the close of the proceedings, in the name of the Union, the Rev. J. Kelly, the chairman, presented a copy of Robinson's Works to each of the three pastors of the town, and moved the following resolution:—"That this assembly cannot separate at the end of a series of most gratifying services and sittings in the town of Northamp-

Mr. J. ROBINSON, Jun.

ton without tendering its warm and affectionate thanks to the pastor, deacons, and members of the three Congregational churches of this town for the liberal and complete arrangements made for the reception and comfort of the pastors and delegates here assembled, and must at the same time express the conviction that the visitors at this Autumnal Meeting will long retain a grateful recollection of the hallowed fellowship they have enjoyed in the public services of the sanctuary, and in the social intercourse of the Christian families belonging to this and to other denominations to which they have been introduced; while the assembly would fervently pray that our blessed Lord may continue to shed all holy peace and prosperity on the congregations and domestic circles of the people here." This resolution was suitably acknowledged by the Revs. E. T. Prust, G. Nicholson, and J. Bennett.

The meetings and prayers of that assembly left behind a gracious odour which filled the house where they were sitting. The church at Castle Hill was revived and increased, and the next year the chapel was too small. A new roof was put on; "Jachin and Boaz," two wooden pillars, were put out, and new galleries were put up. The church as well as the chapel was enlarged. Mr. Jonathan Robinson, one of God's nobles, was a great spiritual force, working salvation in the midst of the people. Filled with the spirit of Christ, he gave himself up to the young, and by his winsome ways raised a new stock. The membership of the church went up to 160, and a still larger number of young people were beginning to comprehend the deep things of God, and many of them became, and some to this day remain, the working forces of the church.

After twenty-four years of service it was seen that the pastor's nervous system had broken down. He was distressed almost beyond endurance by attacks of mental depression which no anodyne would relieve.

Again the church was on the look out for an assistant. Mr. Charles Horne, the father of the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, the brilliant young pastor of Kensington, had just finished his studies at Spring Hill. He was invited to come to the help of the church, and with a willing heart and freshness of spirit he came. The pastor and his helper worked lovingly together; the younger having much to learn, the older having much to teach, it was an advantage to all concerned. Members of the church now living still feel the power of the young preacher's winning words. At the end of the year Mr. Horne left Castle Hill, and unable to work alone Mr. Bennett resigned his pastorate in this pathetic letter—

"St. Mary's Street, January 20th, 1859.

"My dearly beloved friends and brethren in Christ,

"It is with unutterable feelings, which I should in vain strive to express in words, that I now take up my pen to fulfil what I believe to be a solemn although a most painful duty, a duty which I owe to the church at Castle Hill and to its Divine Ruler and Head. You all know that for years past it has pleased the Lord to lay the rod of affliction very heavily upon me. How short-sighted is man, even as respects his own affairs! About four or five years ago I was rejoicing in the pleasant hope that I had before me some years, at least, of happy labour, free from those difficulties which for many years I had to contend with. Our beloved sanctuary, the house of our God, was repaired and beautified, in fact, made almost new; we were free from debt, or nearly so. The attendance had much increased, and good was doing, especially among the young people; my heart was light and thankful, and I looked forward, as I have said, to future years of happy labour. But God's thoughts were not as my thoughts. All at once, like a flash of lightning, that dreadful disturbance of the brain, which has never since left me, and I firmly believe never will leave me until I lie down in the grave, none but those who have felt it can tell what a trying affliction this is, how it depresses the spirits—unfits a man more than any other disease for all mental labour.

"It is known to you, my dear friends, that I have tried every kind of restorative means, and tried them in vain; in fact, from the time of my return from Malvern, I felt that my case was hopeless, and my work nearly done. I do not say this in the way of complaint; it is my heavenly Father's will that it should be so, and it is the desire of my heart to bow without repining and to say, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in Thy sight." Under these circumstances, however, I have long felt that it is my duty to the dear church of which I have so long been the pastor, and my duty to the Lord, its Divine Head, to resign a charge the duties of which I can no longer hope to fulfil. I had not, however, fully made up my mind until about three weeks ago, when I was suddenly seized with bleeding at the chest, and, in the short space of two or three minutes brought up nearly three pounds of blood. I then thought my last hour near at hand, and, although I have revived wonderfully since then, I still feel that I shall never be equal to the pastor's work again. I beg, therefore, to state that as soon as you can find another in whom you can unite, I stand ready to resign into his hand the charge which nearly six and twenty years ago I received, under Christ from you. Until then I will

Mr. P. P. PERRY.

do what I can. O that it may please the Lord to send, and send soon, a man after His own heart, who shall be a more faithful and laborious pastor than I have been.

I meant to have written much more, but I cannot, writing this much has entirely overcome me. O, my dear people, my heart yearns towards you, I love you more than words can express. May the Lord bless you, and make you a blessing, and unite you as the heart of one man. I entreat you for Christ's sake, and the church's sake, to be at peace among yourselves. Thank you, thank you a thousand times for all your love and kindness to me. Forgive, O, forgive my many failings, and pray for me that my faith fail not.

"With deepest love, I remain, your servant in Christ,

"J. Bennett."

The church could not withstand that touching cry for release, and with tender affection he was set free from the cares of the pastorate. Time had not worn him out, for he was only fifty-six years old, but toil and pain had so worn him down that "the grasshopper had become a burden." At the public meeting called to do him honour, he was presented with many thanks, much lofty praise, and a purse of £500. It was the grateful tribute of all sects and parties in the town, for self-sacrificing service which had been rendered without stint for the common good. The deepest sympathy went with him as with his affliction he left the town He removed to Slough, then to Dalston, often visited, never forgotten by the friends at Castle Hill. "Tears were his meat" for twelve painful years, and then the soldier's boy faced, and fought, and conquered the last enemy and went home to rest. The Rev. Thomas Arnold, his successor, Mr. P. P. Perry, and Mr. Jonathan Robinson. two beloved deacons of the church, paid him the last earthly honour by following his remains to the grave; and his name blossoms on a marble tablet behind the pulpit which for twenty-six years had been his throne.

In Loving Remembrance
of
The Rev. John Bennett
Erected by the Church assembling here
of which he was the faithful and devoted Pastor
for 26 years
He was also a friend of the poor
An eloquent advocate of the oppressed
Born at Wellington Somersetshire March 12th 1804
Departed this life at Dalston April 10th 1870
His remains rest at Abney Park Cemetery.

THOMAS ARNOLD, D.S.M.

1860 to 1882.

"Get thy spindle and thy distaff ready, and God will send thee flax."

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Wood, of Norwich, dated 2nd May, 1749, Doddridge said, "When I was absent last summer a Moravian teacher crept in, and has made a sad breach among us, and erected a little congregation, consisting chiefly of those who were members with us, and once among those who seemed most cordially affected toward me, some of them aged and experienced Christians. It is now a crisis among us." What the Moravians then took was like the seed-corn a farmer takes into his field; in giving us Mr. Arnold they repaid the appropriation a thousand-fold. His coming was also a crisis. With one exception it is the richest life which has been given to Castle Hill; and in some respects it is not a whit behind the very chiefest apostle of our church. Mr. Arnold has done as great a work for the dwellers in the world of silence as Doddridge did for those who lived in the world of speech. By his own hand he has given us the story of his birth, training, and work, before he settled in Northampton. In his reminiscences we see in detail where he got his spindle and his distaff ready, and how God sent him flax.

Mr. Arnold was born in Ireland in 1816. His parents were Moravians, living in the Settlement at Gracehill, in County Antrim. There he was nurtured in the love of all that is true and beautiful and good, and there his sympathy for deaf-mutes was first aroused. It was the rule of the community that every man must learn to do some useful work, and young Arnold entered the shop of his father to learn the art of cabinet-making. This provision for the future satisfied his friends, but his own fine instincts were wiser than they. He was destined for a higher craft, and his desire to get knowledge worked in him like the passion of love. On his bench with his tools he had his book, which occupied every spare moment of his time; and, as he planed and fitted and polished his wood, he was adding fact to fact, fitting truth into truth, and so was fitting himself for the sublime yet hidden work of his life. The first step towards this took him to Manchester as a City missionary. Three of the superintendents of that mission were Moravians, one of them having been in his father's employment at Gracehill. In Manchester Mr. Arnold first came into actual contact with poverty, crime, and unbelief. His inexperience in dealing wisely with these, made him seek for other service for

Mrs. JEFFERY.

which he was more competent; but his work there was not in vain, for he there met with Miss S. Simpson, a member of the Society of Friends, who afterwards became his other self as a most devoted wife and able fellow-worker, both as a teacher of the deaf and a minister of the gospel. His next upward step was to Doncaster Deaf-Mute Institute, where he became a teacher of the Oral method. By birth he was a Moravian, through attending the Episcopal Church he became a professed churchman, and by the ministry of the Rev. Dr. S. McAll he gained the conviction that a Congregational Church was the most scriptural form of church life; and he joined the church under the pastorate of Dr. McCall. On becoming a Dissenter he was gradually pushed out of the Doncaster Institute, but this was God's way of lifting him up. The church unanimously recommending him, he was invited to enter Rotherham College, and he felt this to be his call to the ministry. He entered the college, and finished his course of study under the Rev. Dr. W. H. Stowell. Before his studies were finished he was invited to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Burton-on-Trent. From Burton he removed to Smethwick, then a branch of Carr's Lane, Birmingham. While he was there an invitation came to him from the church at Balmain, a suburb of Sydney, New South Wales; and, as Mrs. Arnold's health was failing, he accepted the invitation, and went out in the service of the Colonial Missionary Society. His fame as an Oral teacher of deaf mutes followed him, and the Hon. Thomas Holt brought his deaf son and begged Mr. Arnold to help him, and again he was teaching the dumb to speak. This work was interrupted by a severe bodily affliction, and he was ordered to leave the colony for his own land. As he was coming home, taking Palestine on his way, the church at Castle Hill was looking out for a pastor.

It was in a state of much perplexity and confusion. Mr. W. A. Essery, then a student at Spring Hill College, had been invited to the pastorate. He had preached several times, and was generally acceptable, but the call was not unanimous, and after much correspondence, acting on the advice of his tutor, the Rev. Dr. R. Alliott, he courteously declined the call. Then Mr. Andrew B. Paton, brother of Dr. J. B. Paton, of Spring Hill, came for a term of probation, and an invitation was sent to him, but it was not unanimous, and while the correspondence was going on he accepted a unanimous call to Blackburn, and said, "to have refused the unanimous and accepted the non-unanimous call would have been to disregard what seems to me the leading of Providence in the matter." In the midst

of such disappointments the counsels of the church were divided and mistrust was beginning to spread. On the 10th of January the Rev. R. W. Dale came to preach on behalf of Spring Hill College, and in course of conversation with the deacons he recommended Mr. Arnold as a gentleman in every way suited to the pastorate. He was on his way from Australia *via* Palestine, and hope was on the alert once more. But in February a note from Mr. Dale stated that probably Mr. Arnold would turn back again from Palestine to Australia, and it would be useless to wait for him, and he mentioned the name of the Rev. Basson Hart, of Tregoney. He came in March, and preached two Sundays with partial acceptance. In April the Rev. Mr. Beddow, of Barnsley, and the Rev. E. Hill, of Shrewsbury, supplied the pulpit; both these gentlemen were much liked, but there was no deep, decisive movement in favour of a call. While the church was praying for guidance, on a Sunday morning the news came that Mr. Arnold had arrived in Birmingham, and there was joy that day. It was resolved to open a correspondence with him at once, and on the 13th of May, 1860, Mr. Arnold preached at Castle Hill for the first time. He was invited to preach again and again. He came, he saw, he conquered. The following call was sent to him with only one dissenting voice :

"Castle Hill Church, 20th June, 1860.

"The Rev. Thos. Arnold.

"Dear Sir,—We the undersigned associated in Church fellowship at Castle Hill, having for three Sabbaths listened with great pleasure, and we trust with much profit to your ministrations, and believing that in you we should find a faithful pastor, the aim of whose life would be to labour for the salvation of souls and the glory of God, do hereby, in accordance with the enclosed resolution, unanimously passed at a special meeting on Tuesday last, most earnestly and cordially invite you to take the spiritual oversight of our church and congregation.

The opportunities of intercourse which your visit afforded, though brief, convinced us that you would be pre-eminently adapted to prosper the cause of God amongst us, and having unitedly offered up many earnest prayers that the Great Shepherd would give us a man after his own heart, we believe after long waiting we have fixed our choice on one who was sent by God unto us, and therefore unhesitatingly invite you to assume the pastoral relationship.

That you will take this appeal into your most serious consideration we feel fully assured, that you may be guided by

unerring wisdom is our earnest prayer, and should you receive favourably this invitation and come amongst us, we trust that *you* may be upheld by the great Head of the Church, and the copious outpouring of the Holy Spirit abundantly testify to the truth of the Gospel of Christ which you preach, and *we* prove by our walk and conversation that we are not insensible to the weighty obligations resting upon those who are privileged with an earnest, faithful, and affectionate ministry."

Here follow the signatures of 136 members of the church.

After acknowledging the receipt of this call, and asking time for thought and prayer, Mr. Arnold filled the church with joy by this favourable reply :—

"To the Church of Jesus Christ assembling at Castle Hill Congregational Chapel, Northampton.

"My dear Brethren,—I thank you for your kind invitation, and I heartily accept it. This is the result of thought and prayer, for, as I told some of you, I desired to be only where I might best serve our Lord Jesus Christ—the pastor of a church seeking after the "fulness of God," and holding themselves and all they have as consecrated to his glory, and who would hold me, as I them, in true love and tender sympathy, so that we might journey together towards heaven, and persuade many to go with us. Now believing from your profession and conduct that you are such a people, I may well regard this call as divine, and prepare with God's grace faithfully to discharge its solemn responsibilities.

Not that I can find in myself the fitting qualifications for such an office—rather many defects and great unworthiness, but if we are sincere and determined to be governed solely by the gracious spirit of our religion, all these will speedily be overlooked, and God will magnify Himself among us by the conversion of many, and the growth of all in goodness and holiness. Meeting you then in godly sincerity and affection I offer myself to be your Pastor, at the same time praying the Great Shepherd of the sheep to make our union an eternal blessing to many, and productive of glory to Himself.

"Brethren, I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS ARNOLD."

"Newcastle-on-Tyne, June 30th, 1860."

Loyal to his conscience, his conscience was faithful to him ; he knew this call to be the voice of God, and on the 19th of August he began a ministry of great blessing. Preaching and teaching were his heart's delight, for he had good news to tell, tidings which had made his own life a gladness, and God worked with him confirming his word with signs following.

Quickened by a living ministry, the church began to throw out new roots. In 1861, Miss Martha Burton was engaged as a Bible woman, or Scripture reader, and a committee of ladies appointed to superintend her work. The next year the school buildings were enlarged and the chapel provided with three hundred additional sittings, and the name of it changed from "Castle Hill" to the more definite and appropriate name of "Doddridge" Chapel. The school in the smithy at St. James' found a worthier place, and in 1862 the present school-chapel was planted as a branch of the old tree. These enlargements cost £3,108, which was freely subscribed, with a surplus of £73 10s.; of this sum £52 10s. was voted to Mr. Arnold, "whose exertions had been indefatigable," and £21 was sent to Mr. Bennett, "who had recently suffered the bereavement of his youngest daughter, and for this and other causes had been brought very low." In 1865, Mrs. Jones, of Desborough, was appointed as a Bible woman at St. James', but, after a little while, Mr. P. P. Perry relieved Doddridge Church of this charge, and, with Mrs. Perry, took the oversight of the work at this end of the town, and for nearly thirty years they freely spent their money and thought and strength. In 1865, another branch was planted at Kingsthorpe Hollow, on the north side of the town. The work began with a Sunday school—conducted by Miss J. Morton, who was residing with Mr. Arnold then—and Mothers' meetings in one room of a cottage, with Mrs. Arnold as the mothers' mother, who in training, temper, and toil was, in every sense, a worthy helper of the now vigorous pastor. That one room was enlarged by taking in another, and, in 1879, the cottage was left for the more convenient school-chapel, which cost £800, and remains to this day. During his ministry, not less than £7,000 were expended in the schools, the chapel, and its branches. When he began his ministry there was accommodation in the chapel for 650, and in the school for 300; before he retired from the work there was accommodation in the chapel for 950 persons, and in the schools for 1,500 children. The kernel grew with the shell. Under the fervour of his evangelical teaching the church became more pure and strong. He received into the church "Mr. and Mrs. ———, husband and wife, who had been brought up as Roman Catholics, driven into infidelity by the inconsistencies of professing Christians, but drawn to the consideration of the truth as it is in Jesus by their own children, who attended Castle Hill Sunday School." Such fruit as this kept the heart of the church warm. Mr. Arnold gained and kept the affection of the young people by his sympathy with them in their hopes and fears, and the grace of his life commended the truth from

his lips. An eloquent speaker, he had the gift of making others see what he saw himself, and was always welcome on the platform, where he gave free play to his buoyant spirit and his wide knowledge of men and things. There was modesty in his wisdom, gentleness in his strength, courage in his unselfishness, such as are rarely combined in one man.

The County Association is the product of his insight and zeal. It was formed, according to its report, in 1812, but in its earlier years the ministers of the county met to transact the business of the Provident Society, and they did little more. It was Mr. Arnold who corresponded with other County Associations, and got up the case for an organised association of the churches, touching the Christian life of the county at all its points, and employing evangelists to spread religious knowledge and foster religious life in various ways. He was the means of altering the procedure of the Provident Society, so as to admit of its surplus revenue being distributed among the pastors of the village churches, a boon which, to this day, makes the heart of many a pastor glad.

It is a noble record, but the half has not been told. Mr. Arnold was engaged in another divine work, seldom included in the duties of ministerial life. For fifteen years of his pastorate he was employed in educating deaf-mutes. His own house was the school, where, with infinite pains, he taught the dumb to speak. He was the first Englishman to apply the pure oral system solely, and to demonstrate its efficiency. Pupils, who, when they came to him, could not make sound more intelligible than that of a dog, could say, "God bless you!" when they left. One of them matriculated at the London University, and Mr. Arnold was complimented by the Prince of Wales for a success which has no equal in the history of English education. With a practical knowledge of the anatomy and the physiology of the organs of speech and hearing, he has gradually perfected a system of oral instruction. With great aptitude in imparting knowledge, he could enter into the condition of his pupils, adapt himself to their capacity—in some real sense could lend them his faculties till they could use their own. Few can know anything of his strenuous drudgery, and few can share his joy in creating a new intelligence—in tracing the uncertain sound gradually becoming distinct, the noise becoming *vocal* sounds, the sounds growing into a sentence, the sentence giving proof that a new idea had been received and, at last, could be expressed. He had pupils from families belonging to the Episcopal Church, but he was so inwardly true that neither by word nor deed did he ever attempt to bias their minds in favour of doctrines held with clear con-

viction. Long years of this twofold vocation began to tell even on his splendid constitution, and once more the church was looking round for an assistant. The Rev. John Oates was just leaving New College, and he was invited to be co-pastor. He accepted the invitation; and for three happy years the two pastors worked in joyful co-operation. Then Mr. Arnold felt that the time had come for him to retire from the ministry of the church. At a church meeting in June, 1881, he gave notice of his resignation, to take effect in December, after twenty-two years of ministry full of grace and truth; and on the 14th of December a special church meeting unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"That this meeting having regretfully received the resignation of the Rev. T. Arnold, desires to accept it in the same spirit of affection and love in which it was verbally tendered at the last church meeting, held November 30th, to acknowledge its deep indebtedness to him for his earnest efforts, faithful ministrations, and self-sacrificing spirit during the lengthened period of his twenty-one years' pastorate; it rejoices greatly that such resignation is not the result of the slightest dissatisfaction with, or want of appreciation of, his valuable services on the part of his church and congregation, but arises solely from his strong desire to devote his special attention to the education of the deaf and dumb, in which work he has already met with such signal success. It deeply sympathises with him in his noble efforts to pour light and joy into the minds of these afflicted ones, and earnestly wishes him God speed in every effort he puts forth in this, or in any other direction, and further prayerfully and lovingly commends him and his partner in life to the protection, guidance, and care of the great Head of the Church, in whose service they have so long and so faithfully ministered."

This service was as true as it was long, unselfish as well as faithful. If he had given the same amount of time, and thought, and skill to cabinet-making, he might have made a competence, but though he had made many rich in the best of all possessions, he remained poor in purse, and found it needful to ask the help of the Pastors' Retiring Fund, and his resignation did not take effect till six months later that he might comply with the conditions of the grant. In June, 1882, he was free to retire, and he resigned the pastorate with a public ovation. A purse of £500 was presented to him, with other things of use and beauty, a gift in which the young vied with the old, and "Church" joined with Dissent; and an Illuminated Address full of touching words and tender thoughts. Those

who knew him best summed up their gratitude and love in these closing words :—"In love, honour, and truth you have lived among us these twenty-two years, and the gift of which we this day intreat your acceptance is only one amongst the manifold tokens that, while with saddened hearts we bid you farewell as pastor and teacher, we shall still cherish as one of our choicest privileges your personal friendship, and never, as long as life lasts, will we forget your work of faith and labour of love."

Happy the pastor who could deserve such a magnificent tribute—more happy the people who could give it!

His labours of love were not yet ended. He retired, not to enjoy a well-earned rest, not worn out by his excessive toil, but to give himself up to a work still more difficult. In one deep sense the best was yet to come. In the Institute at Doncaster he had resolved, if spared, to write a book to make teaching easier for others than it had been for him. As experience had widened this purpose had strengthened, and an ever active brain was giving it shape. A few years ago he learnt the Spanish and the Italian languages to get at books on his subject. But books could not teach all he had to learn. To master the intricacies of speech he practised on his own. At night, after he had gone to rest, he was often working out the formation of sounds by lip, and tongue, and teeth, and, till she got accustomed to his method of study, Mrs. Arnold was sometimes startled from her sleep by the explosions of his mouth. So by painstaking experiment, and years of patient study, he completed the theory and practice of deaf-mute education, and slowly but surely his fame spread itself abroad. The London College of Deaf-Mute Teachers honoured him with its diploma and conferred on him the still greater honour of choosing him to write a Manual on Oral Teaching. He did it "all for love, and nothing for reward," but the joy of serving those whose peculiar affliction few can relieve. That Manual is now the recognised text-book of the Oral Method, containing a full exposition of all the subjects teachers must know to qualify them to instruct deaf-mutes. It is illustrated with exquisite diagrams of the various organs of speech and hearing in different positions, from drawings by the dexterous pen of H. N. Dixon, Esq., M.A., F.L.S., Mr. Arnold's successor in the school in Northampton. This was followed by another volume, giving the history and methods of teaching deaf-mutes in different ages in different parts of the world. It traces the origin and progress of various systems of education, gives examples and results from Herodotus, Hippocrites,

Aristotle, Pliny, to Jesus Christ, then through Roman law, St. Augustine, to St. John of Beverley, the first English oral teacher of deaf-mutes.

We may take one extract to show the spirit of the writer, and the basis of his book :—

CHRIST AND DEAF-MUTES.

"He made the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see." St. Mark gives us the history of His first miracle of this order ch. vii. 33-37 (N.V.): "They bring unto Him one that was deaf (kōphon), and had an impediment in his speech" (mogilálos), a stammerer; "and He took him aside from the multitude privately," so that his attention could not be distracted by the people, "and put his fingers into his ears, and spat and touched his tongue." His ears wanted opening, the Lord put His fingers into them; his tongue wanted loosing, the Lord anointed it with His saliva. Both are expressive signs, and no doubt were read by the dumb man. "And looking up to heaven He sighed, and saith unto him Ephphatha, that is, be opened." The upward look is believing prayer, and the sigh which nature revealed by the heaving chest is His sorrow for the afflicted deaf-mute, so that all is done which can be done to awaken faith and hope, before his ears were opened and the bond of his tongue loosed, and he spake plain This miracle is wonderful as such, but it is concealed, inscrutable; more wonderful still from the manner in which the Lord uses the deaf-mute's own language in those touches of his ears and his tongue to excite his attention. Thus He unites himself with him, and carries his sorrows that He may restore his speech. Verily, the deaf and dumb are His own special charge as well as the blind. The education of the deaf and dumb springs chiefly out of this miracle."

This wise and sympathetic exposition reveals the insight of the teacher and the spirit of the man, but to discern and rightly estimate the value of his book, we need the practical knowledge and the critical judgment of an expert. The book has been reviewed by the most capable men. Professor Marius Dupont, of the National Institute for Deaf-Mutes, in Paris, praises it in the most generous and thankful terms. He gives ten octavo pages to his critical review, and says that "Time and space are lacking to enter into details on this part of the work, which contains an exposition of the whole method. What is needed is not an analysis, but a translation of this fine work which contains a complete theory of deaf-mute education, viewed in its most modern aspects, and a general grammar of our instruc-

tion. This encyclopædic work, which represents the labours of a life-time, merits a place of honour in our libraries, where it will remain as one of the best and most complete books of an age plentiful in works of merit." It is now being translated by a Professor of the National Institution, founded by the Abbè De l'Epee, Paris, for the use of French teachers of the deaf.

That is as far and as high as wise commendation can go. This labour of a life-time has been a heavy strain in a sympathetic nature, but the vital force of Mr. Arnold is not exhausted yet; he still writes on his Oral code as he finds a new fact, or a new application of an old truth which may be of service to those whose affliction he has made his own. Long may he be spared to give to those living in a soundless world the benefit of his ripened thought, and the help of his eloquent pen! How he gained this exceptional power will be seen in following his Reminiscences.

JOHN OATES.

1879 to 1882.

"As the channel turns the stream follows."

We have to go far away to find the source of the next in succession. Mr. Oates was born of English parents in South Africa, and according to his own description the sun overhead was not more bright than the inner life of the homestead of his early days. In his own suggestive words we find the "elements that were mixed up in him":—"The home of my childhood is one of those happy scenes in which memory loves to dwell, for it was a home of purity and peace. I was blessed with parents of beautiful Christian character. Their pure souls were to me, even at that early age, as mirrors in which I saw the image of the divine. Their example, so consistent and courageous, became to me a formative influence, it gave shape to my character and inspired my conduct, and as I became more thoughtful I perceived that goodness was a reality, that true religion was something more than a philosophy of ideas, in that it was capable of embodiment in life and practice. There it was a living thing before me in the character and conduct of my parents, I could not grow up sceptical for the facts were against me; realities cannot be denied. As the result of such an example I grew up in sympathy with the religious life, nay, more, I came to desire it." That is a charming picture in the framework of a Methodist's home.

"From scenes like these old (Britain's) grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad."

When he was twelve years old the boy consciously possessed as his own the divine life he admired in his parents. "As the channel turns the stream follows," the channel of his life was made deep if not wide, and the stream followed the courageous example of his godly parents. He began to teach native children in the Sunday School. The delight he found in this work led him on. The channel turned back to his own home, and he followed, made a classroom of his chamber, and there he gathered round him devout young men, who nurtured each other in the admonition of the Lord by the study of the scriptures and prayer. Then the channel turned outwards—Mr. Oates became a local preacher, went into the diamond fields, and to the seekers after hidden treasure he offered the pearl of great price. God blessed his word, and with the knowledge that he was thinking God's thoughts, doing God's work there came the conviction that he ought to prepare himself for wider service. In that abiding conviction he recognized

Rev. JOHN OATES.

his call to the ministry of the church. In obedience to this call he offered his services to the Congregational Union of South Africa, and the channel turned again. Perceiving that the grace of God was in him, the brethren accepted him as a student, and sent him to New College, London. Studious in habit, he put his heart into his work, and made rapid progress. In two years he took the "Wardlaw Exhibition," and in 1878 was a "Kendall-Binney" prizemen. Having finished his college course he was about to sail for the Cape of Good Hope, when an invitation from Doddridge church turned the channel and the stream. He accepted the call to be assistant and successor to Mr. Arnold, and was welcomed with good hope and great joy. The church was now supplied with an ideal pastorate, getting with two men what cannot be had in one man—the vigour of youth and the ripe wisdom of age. The knowledge of the one guided the zeal of the other, and the word of God grew and multiplied. The income of the church increased to meet the greater demand upon its financial resources. Mr. Oates was was gladly accepted as the friend and spiritual leader of the youthhood of the church. He found congenial work in the Bible Class, the Literary Society, the Band of Hope, Mr. Arnold spending the riches of his wisdom and favour among them all. Nothing is too good for God to give a church, but there are some things too good for it to receive and rightly use, and this ideal ministry was "too good to last." In 1881 Mr. Arnold preached a sermon with special reference to his retirement from the pastorate, saying, "Some years ago, when I found that my work for the deaf did not permit me to do all for the church required by my office, without any complaint or intimation, I tendered my resignation, and asked permission either to retire or to have suitable assistance. Unanimously you declined to accept the resignation, and as unanimously acceded to the assistance. Then I saw very clearly that a young minister who would satisfy you and me, must be one who ought in a reasonable time to take my place. I therefore made up my mind to co-operate with you in the selection of such an one and then to prepare the way for him, so that there might be no hurt, wrench, or disturbance to the church." The time for that change so sagaciously and unselfishly provided for had at last arrived. At a special church meeting held in December, 1881, it was unanimously resolved, "That the members of this church having accepted the resignation of the Rev. T. Arnold, desire to express their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Rev. John Oates as his co-pastor, and believing him to be highly qualified to assume the position,

hereby most cordially and unanimously invite him to accept the sole pastorate, pledging themselves, should he comply, to support him in his efforts to direct all the operations of the church to a successful issue, and devoutly pray that the blessing of our Heavenly Father may rest upon and abide with him."

On the 8th of March, 1882, Mr. Oates was ordained as pastor; the Rev. Professor R. Thomson, M.A., delivered the charge, and Mr. Arnold poured out his heart in the ordination prayer. In the statement of his purpose and position, Mr. Oates said, "I ask you to give me the right which you claim for yourselves, that is, of liberty of conscience and freedom of speech, and to believe that whatever truth I speak, and whatever policy I pursue, I do so from the highest convictions, always keeping before me the glory of Christ and the good of His church." Mr. Arnold welcomed his young brother as his pastor, and said, in his own wise and genial way, "My pastorate has come to its close. I wished it earlier, but circumstances prevented. This night, my brother, Mr. Oates, occupies the charge alone. Shall I use the old legal term, and say that he stands *seized* of everything that belongs to the pastorate of this Christian church? I have quietly slipped out and left him to fill the vacant place. Thank God! my design in this respect has been fulfilled. I was chiefly anxious that no jar, no disturbance of the unity and affection which distinguished us as a Christian church should take place, as sometimes has been the case in a change of ministry; because the loss of love is a loss of power, the loss of the Spirit's presence, the loss of Him who walks in the church, for love and He depart together. My joy, therefore, this night, is that my brother enters fully on the pastorate in circumstances so large in promise and so rich in spiritual strength. I thank God for him."

In the right spirit Mr. Oates seemed to have begun a most hopeful pastorate in the right place. He had in him all the elements of an attractive ministry, spiritual, earnest, fluent, poetic, he carried with him an atmosphere bright as the air of his African home. But the channel turned again, and after a pastorate of twelve months, to the surprise and grief of the church and congregation, he resolved to remove from Northampton. In his letter of resignation, dated 20th March, 1883, he said, "I do not leave you because I have ceased to be interested in your spiritual welfare, or become restless, changeful, or ambitious: but because there are circumstances which I am unable to control, which agitate my mind, and enter as a disturbing element into my ministrations. I therefore most deeply

deplore the decision which I am compelled to arrive at, a decision which is the result of careful thought and constant prayer—viz. : I tender to you with sincere regret and lasting affection my resignation as pastor of Doddridge Church." This letter was considered the next day in a special church meeting. It was proposed by Mr. Jonathan Robinson, seconded by Mr. George Bass, and unanimously adopted :—"That this church, having with deep regret heard the letter of resignation from the Rev. John Oates, cannot avoid arriving at the conclusion that the reasons therein stated leave them no alternative but sorrowfully to assent to the termination of a pastorate which has been so satisfactory in the past, and seemed so full of promise for the future. And whatever may be their opinions, individually or collectively, as to the causes which have brought about so grave a crisis, the church has no hesitation in earnestly and affectionately commending their young pastor to the care and guidance of the Great Head of the Church, and wishing him every success in the new sphere of labour upon which he is about to enter." Mr. Oates accepted a call to Trinity Church, Reading, where he remained for six useful years. His health failing him, the channel of his life turned once more, and he removed to Christ Church, Southsea, where he remains, rooted in the love of his people. Rolling in the riches of a poet's dowry, he has lately published a volume of "Studies in Tennyson."

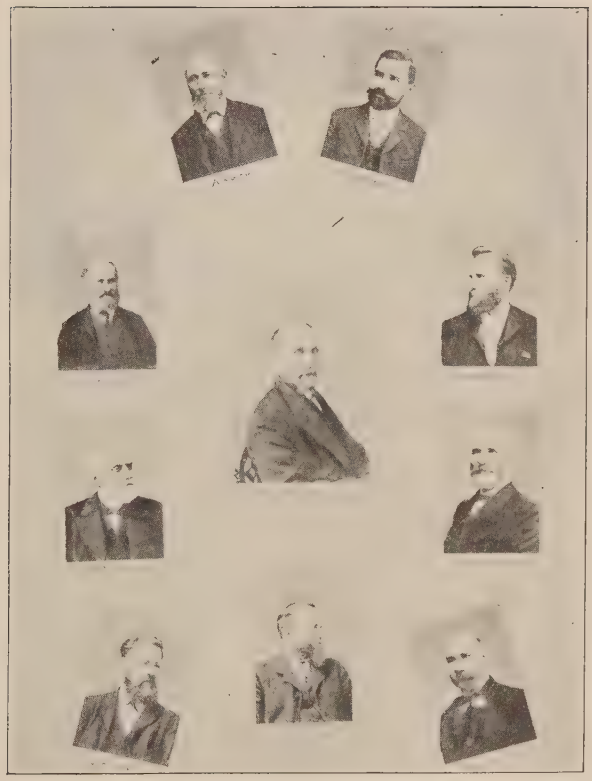
The church was again as sheep having no shepherd, but it had a "father" in Mr. Arnold. The vacant pulpit was supplied, among others, by the Rev. W. Hope Davidson, of London, who produced so favourable an impression that it was unanimously decided to invite him to accept the pastorate. A "call" was sent to him in March, 1884. But just as Mr. Davidson received this invitation to a new field of work his dear wife received the call to rest from her labours. The church at once sent a letter of brotherly sympathy, and an assurance that it would wait patiently till he could calmly consider the bearings of his condition altered by his bereavement. In April, he courteously, regretfully, finally declined the call. Months passed anxiously by, till, through Mr. Arnold, the church heard of a minister in Corwen, North Wales, and its hope was raised "by the belief that God's presence would be seen casting a ray of light across its path, which, if followed, might, in His infinite providence, lead to the full consummation of its desire."

JOSEPH J. COOPER.

1884.

"If you had had fewer friends and more enemies, you had been a better man."

We must go back to the manse to find the beginning of the next, and so far, the last in succession. I was born at Lynn, Norfolk, on the 9th of December, 1837 in the house of a retired Primitive Methodist minister. Eight children, like petals clustering round the stalk of a flower, were there nurtured in peace, in a freedom and plainness which cared nothing for the fuss of what is called social life. The first religious feeling I remember, sprang up as I sat at my mother's feet reading aloud the "Pilgrim's Progress," every now and then she would say, "I have been there, my boy," and I wished that I too were a pilgrim. This feeling was kept alive and deepened as I occasionally looked with something like awe at my father in the pulpit, and heard him preach with tears in his eyes and in his voice. In the waywardness of youth there were aberrations in my temper and conduct, but the influence of the home held me as an anchor holds a ship. I swung round to different points of the compass without drifting away, and before I was out of my teens Christ had become the captain of my salvation. While my father magnified his office as a minister, and gave his children such education as he could, it was his rule to give an occupation to both his boys and his girls, and so give them self-reliance and the means of living usefully. In a seaport town, I had become fond of ships and often went to sea in a vessel belonging to us, and when the time came for me to choose my calling, I wanted to be a sailor; this was kindly if sternly forbidden. My next choice was to be a carpenter, and I was apprenticed for five years to a builder in the town. In the shop I learnt more than my trade; I became acquainted with vices that stick like glue, and with men who found delight in making others vicious. The teaching of the home kept me from running to the same excess of riot. Jesus seemed nearer to me because he had been a carpenter, and I often wondered what he would do in such a shop. But he showed me clearly what he would have me do, and one glorious Sunday night, he revealed himself, and all things became new. Fearing opposition from my shopmates, yet resolving to face it, I formed a plan, which I have recommended to young converts. The next morning before a plane cut a shaving or a hammer struck a nail, I stood on my sawing-stool and told my mates what had happened, and that in future I intended to live a Christian



Present Minister and Deacons:

Mr. Smith Mr. Latimer

Mr. Whitford Mr. Wilson

Rev. J. J. Cooper

Mr. McKrindle Mr. Trenery

Mr. Higgins Mr. Facer Mr. Jeffery

life. My statement was received in silence, and after a few nods and winks treated with respect. That open confession confirmed my purpose, committed me to a life of uprightness, and smoothed my way to it. I joined the Primitive Methodist Society, and began to teach in the Sunday School. Methodists allow no able-bodied member to be idle, in their tool-chest they have tools for every one and they teach him to use them. In their class meetings they soon find out who has the gift of public speech. They saw signs of it in me, and I was put on the "Plan" as an exhorter, and with a companion sent into the villages to say what I knew of God's saving grace. There are some events of the greatest importance which cannot be proved by any logical process, they cut their way to the inner consciousness and can no more be doubted than one's own existence; such was my "call" to the ministry. It came to me in the message of a Christian woman, who said in a whisper, "We have been praying about you, and believe that God will put you into the ministry, and give you a great field to work in." The words awoke an echo within me. It could not have been the response of personal vanity, for I was humbled and oppressed as if a heavy burden had been laid on my spirit. That night, by the side of the river Ouse, in a struggle too severe ever to be forgotten, desire wrestled with fear, diffidence with hope, and in the end self was surrendered, and the surrender followed by a delightful sense of peace. I went home as if God had put His mark on me, wondering if the people I met could see any signs of the change I felt. That was my inward call to be a messenger of the glad tidings. The outward call soon followed and was not less distinct. Having finished my apprenticeship I removed to London to work at my trade. I was so dissatisfied with my preaching abilities, and so inconsistent that I hoped no one in London would know that I had ever attempted to speak in public. But I was transferred to Sutton Street church as "an exhorter," and so was found out and set to work. I made myself generally useful in the church, "exhorting" here and there, working in the Band of Hope, and, what I very much enjoyed, debating with sceptics on the Mile End Road. It was there I first realized true liberty and joy in public speaking. In the course of a debate one said, "you have told us what you believe, tell us what you know." I began to tell what I knew of divine grace in human life, my tongue was loosened, I forgot myself in my theme, and I was more surprised than any one else could have been, when I became conscious that I was talking to an interested crowd of men. It was my first inspiration, and I ventured to think I

had found my vocation. Before I had been a year in London I was asked to go to Eynesbury, in Huntingdonshire, to help a minister who had broken down in health. I at first declined, then hesitated, then consented. I arrived at Eynesbury late on a Saturday night, and in St. Neots saw my name on placards announcing me to preach "Anniversary Sermons" the next day. The news struck me like a heavy blow; I may have been cross-grained or unwisely modest, but if I could have got back to London that night I certainly should have run away from that unexpected demand, and I wished I had fewer friends. It was a serious want of judgment in dealing with a youth. I had never pretended to preach a sermon, I had only talked on what lay in my heart, and to preach two anniversary sermons in one day was like beginning at the top. There was no escape, and after a restless night and a wretched morning, with the feeling of being out of place I preached my first sermon with my eyes shut, unable to look the congregation in the face. But I gradually got to like my work, to keep my eyes open, and when my turn of service expired in Eynesbury I was stationed at Maidstone under a minister who directed my studies in Greek and theology. The next year I was sent to Chelmsford, and there I began to chafe against the iron rules by which I was bound. I was not supposed to go off my station without asking leave. I got a letter of rebuke from London, for it was known there that some one had caught me in the act of walking by the side of a young lady. Believing it to be best for the society, one Good Friday I accepted an invitation to preach in a chapel, when I was "planned" to preach in a cottage in another place. In the chapel two hundred people had no supply; in the cottage twelve or fifteen people would have been supplied by a brother living in the village. I thought my conduct would pass without remark, as being just what good sense would suggest; but I was charged with "breaking the plan," and officially reprimanded; when I replied, if I were placed in the same set of circumstances I should feel obliged to act in the same way, I was regarded as a dangerous young man needing a curb, and again I wished I had fewer friends. I was invited to stay another year in Chelmsford, but the curb was put on, and the authorities stationed me at Plymouth. I refused to go, and resigned a position in which ecclesiastical authority took the place of one's personal judgment. I then joined the Congregationalists in Chelmsford, became the helper of the Rev. George Wilkinson, who was both a teacher and a friend. I took the service at London Road Chapel on Sunday afternoons, and at East Hanningfield on Sunday and

Thursday evenings. It was a new world to me; they were happy days, for I was a free man. When I had been there about a year the friends presented me with an address and a purse of gold; in many ways their thoughtful kindness was beyond all praise. But I was not satisfied there; ever since my boyhood I had cherished a desire to be a missionary, and, with the approval of Mr. Wilkinson, I offered my service to the London Missionary Society, and was accepted and sent to the Academy at Weston-Super-Mare to study under the Rev. C. Pritchett. In 1865, I was ordained at Chelmsford, and sent out to New Amsterdam, in Berbice. It was said to be "the land of mud, mosquitoes, and death." I found them all there, but the worst was the death of my own purpose and plan; in a little while my health and the health of my wife broke down, and I came back, humbled with the sense of defeat. Then, after travelling, lecturing, and preaching in Australia, Scotland, and Wales, I accepted an invitation to the English Church in Corwen—the first pastor of a brave and devoted band of English men and women in a Welsh-speaking town. In July, 1884, I was the supply at the Congregational Chapel at Penmaenmawr, and Mr. Arnold was one of the congregation. Something in the service favourably impressed him, and when he returned to Northampton, he induced the friends at Doddridge Church to invite me to preach. I came, came again, and yet again, with fear and great joy. I returned to my church in Corwen. I was very happy in my work there. By means of a bazaar we had raised nearly £400, and the chapel was free from debt. It was the only chapel in which the service was in English, and my burden was so light that I was free to go about on a Temperance mission. It was as happy a pastorate as one could desire, and, though the doom of sorrow fell on me there, as far as my ministry was concerned I should have been content to live and die in that lovely place, forever "touched with some new grace." But "the wind bloweth where it listeth," and one has sometimes to move without being able to give any clear reason even to himself. On the 7th of November, I received this invitation:—

"Castle Hill, Northampton.

"Rev. J. J. Cooper, Corwen.

"Dear Sir,

"Having had the pleasure of listening to your ministrations, on several successive occasions, with increasing pleasure and profit, and received several very satisfactory testimonials as to your ability and devotion to the work of the ministry, as well as

having formed a high estimate thereof ourselves, the members of Doddridge Church, at a special and preliminary meeting, held on October 22nd, unanimously passed a resolution in favour of inviting you to accept the pastorate thereof; this was confirmed at their regular monthly meeting, held on the 29th ultimo, and also at the meeting of the congregation on Sunday evening last. It, therefore, now devolves upon us to discharge the very pleasant but responsible duty of conveying to you the unanimous desire of the church and congregation, and invite you to accept the pastorate, and minister to our special necessities, both in the pulpit and in the home, as God shall give you strength and opportunity. In asking you to take so important a step, on which depends so largely not only your own future happiness and usefulness, but also that of the church with which we are so closely associated, we believe we have been divinely directed by the Great Head of the Church, whose guidance we have earnestly and prayerfully sought before arriving at so grave and important a decision.

"Lovingly and hopefully, we lodge this 'call' in your hands, and beg you favourably to receive and consider it; and if you hear in this invitation the "voice of God," as we sincerely trust you will, and decide to accept the pastorate, it will be our earnest aim to do all we can, to the best of our ability, to sustain you in carrying on the various agencies which are in active operation in connection with our church. Trusting you will favour us with your decision at the earliest convenient date, that God's choicest blessings may abundantly rest upon you and Mrs. Cooper, and that we may soon have the unspeakable pleasure of welcoming you as our pastor and friend, we subscribe ourselves, on behalf of the church worshipping at Doddridge Chapel,

"Yours in Christian affection,

"William Milroy, Jonathan Robinson, P. P. Perry, James Ellard, George Bass, Henry Cooper, Alexander McCrindle, John Whitford—Deacons."

When a minister accepts a call to a larger church, it is often said, with a smile, "it is a call to a larger stipend," as if this were the great attraction. Sometimes it may be so—it may be so with incorruptness—but it often has little influence in determining the choice, sometimes no influence at all. On the 21st of March, in the same year, I had an invitation to the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Garlieston, Scotland, where the stipend was considerably more than that in Corwen. I liked the place, knew and esteemed the people; I was grateful for

the invitation, but it did not stir any deep feeling, nor create any desire to go. The call reached only the outward sense, and it was declined for that reason. But the call to Castle Hill reached the inner ear. It forced on me the question, whether these lovingly earnest words, so full of the spirit of Christ, did not utter the voice of Christ. It was spread at His feet, and gradually conviction and circumstance constrained me to send the following reply :—

"Corwen, 10th November, 1884.

"My dear Friends,

"The invitation you sent me last week laid on my spirit a heavy burden. It was, therefore, not a matter that I could disregard. I did what any Christian man may do with a burden, I cast it on the Lord and sought his help. He has manifestly led me so often that I could not doubt His willingness to help in what must be a crisis in both my life and yours. I think I am not deceived in saying that "the mouth of the Lord has spoken" to me in your invitation, and, that I may not be disobedient, I come at your call. I have no rapturous feeling in view of this unmerited honour. I am oppressively conscious of the gravity and the far-reaching issues of such a change as this. But I have the conviction that it is right, and duty is both a staff and a shield. I steadfastly believe when God calls a servant to work that He either finds or gives the needed power. In the faith of this I come. I shall bring you a whole heart and, as God shall help me, a devoted spirit.

"I am yours in sincerity,

"Joseph J. Cooper.

To the Castle Hill Congregational Church, Northampton."

On Thursday, 11th of December, I was publicly recognised as the pastor of the church. If a good beginning is of any lasting value, the power of that impressive meeting should not be exhausted yet. The Revs. D. Burford Hooke, C. W. Butler, E. Schnadhorst, and A. W. Johnson, as friends of the pastor, wished that the union might be long and happy, and ministers from all parts of the county made an enthusiastic meeting a representative Nonconformist assembly. In his own tenderly affectionate way, Mr. Jonathan Robinson gave me the right hand of fellowship on behalf of all associated with the church, and said they prayed that my coming amongst them might be a season of great joy to me, a sunny spot in life, that I should ever feel that I had round about me hearts full of sympathy and love, that the responsibilities of the church did not rest entirely upon my shoulders, but that I should find all the mem

bers willing to share them with me. In my reply I reminded the congregation that I was there not because a patron had given or sold me the living; I had come in response to their choice and invitation—I had come as a *pastor*, not as a priest. A pastor fed the sheep, a priest flayed them—his most fitting symbol was a knife, not a book. The duties, joys, sorrows of a Christian pastor were more like those of the old prophet than of the priest. It was the prophet who enlarged the bounds of truth, adapted it to the moods of men, to the needs of the age, and deepened in the conscience the sense of moral obligation. The prophet not only *foretold* events, he *forefelt* them. A priest is of no use without an altar, nor an altar without a sacrifice; we needed neither, for Christ had offered one sacrifice for sins forever. I had come not to kill the sheep, but to feed them with the truth for which the heart ever hungers, and of which it never tires. They would soon find that I am not perfect, and I should not be alarmed if I found imperfections in them.

Since those words were spoken ten years have come and gone. I have neither been nor done anything like what I desired, but the church has proved better than my highest hope. There have been no startling changes, few exciting situations, no feverish attempts to force the growth of the church, yet God has blessed us indeed. In 1884 there were 293 members of the church, 88 teachers, 1196 scholars in our *three* schools; in 1894 there are 447 church members, 134 teachers, 1736 scholars in our *four* schools, and 109 teachers and 84 scholars are members of the church.

In 1887 God sent us showers of blessing, which filled the channels of our church life, instead of breaking down the banks and running in riot, the stream kept within its bed, and carried a gracious fertility wherever it flowed. At a mission conducted by the Rev. W. A. Meaton, scores of our young people, not far from the kingdom of God, quietly "stepped over the line" and received the grace of a new life. They were formed into a "Christian Band," which in the course of time passed into a "Christian Endeavour Society." Their warm and eager love brought a time of refreshing in the church, and a quickening of its outward activity. They wanted something to do, and while the bloom was on their Christian life, in April, 1889, they hired and opened a room in Bristol Street for mission services, a school for neglected children, and a nightly shelter from the wind of temptation in the street. It was not very suitable, but it served for a beginning. Mr. Robert S. Goldie threw into the work the force of an ardent soul. The interest grew, but hostile feeling grew with it, and the young people

DODDRIDGE CHAPEL, 1895.

were forced to leave the upper room, For a while this was a sore distress, but it was a blessing in disguise. A commodious mission hall was built for them in Castle Street, and leased for seven years, and there they now exercise their enlarging gifts, and train their powers for wider service. When they were scholars in the mother school some of them were the torment of their teachers, now the course of their energy is changed, they are a source of strength, and an object lesson to all teachers, in the patience of hope, in the faithfulness of God.

In 1890 the hand of improvement was again laid upon the chapel, and a spacious vestibule was built. It seemed like putting new cloth on an old garment, but it was not intended for decoration, the patch was made to match, and it was a real addition to the general comfort of the place. At the same time the organ was enlarged in scope and power to improve our service of praise, and it struck an answering chord in our joyful hearts.

In 1892 the branch chapel at St. James' was filling up, and the friends there took the first step towards forming a church by inviting the Rev. T. Neale, who had been working with success at Anstey, in Leicestershire. He began his ministry in July with encouraging signs of fitness and favour. The chapel is still a "branch," but the friends who worship there have secured a good site for a new chapel on the main road, and in due course they will sever their connection with the mother church and make roots of their own. The friends at the other branch on Kingsthorpe Road are also working towards an independent church life. A Free Church Extension Association has been formed, and a large piece of land has been bought. Mainly through the insight and forethought of the late Mr. Thomas Pressland, with F. G. Adnitt, Esq., a scheme was devised for dividing the land into a site for a chapel and a number of building lots, the lots at market price realizing as much as the price of the whole estate, leaving the site of the chapel free of cost. The celebration of our bi-centenary includes an attempt to help both these branches and the Association by building new chapels, or schools, or both.

The thoroughfare in which Doddridge chapel stands has long been known as "Quart Pot Lane." In 1893 this quart pot was emptied, the ill-favoured name removed, and the lane received the more appropriate name of "Doddridge Street." The street is bounded on the west by St. Mary's churchyard, which for many years was enclosed by a bowing brick wall. Application was made to the Corporation to have this wall removed and the long disused ground laid out for the benefit

of the neighbourhood. The Corporation approved of the scheme, and in place of the dead wall Canon Hull generously consented to give the iron palisade, and gates from the front of All Saints' Church. An improvement greatly appreciated by our neighbours, and as it was betterment in the approach to our chapel, it was gratefully acknowledged by our Church as the courteous act of Christian brotherhood. It is the only public memorial that the good people of the town have yet given to one of its greatest benefactors. The change in the name of the street was followed by another change for those who live in it. After seven years of merciful work Miss Burton resigned her office as bible woman through failing health, and in 1868 Mrs. Odell was appointed. She was the friend and counsellor of the sick and poor in the neighbourhood, till in 1894 growing infirmity rendered her incapable of continuing her beneficent ministry, and she retired from active service with an annuity which set her free from earthly care. Miss Sinkins, of London, was appointed to succeed her as bible woman and nurse. With force of character and deep love for her work, she now ministers to the body and soul of those in need, an endless and an exhausting service which she cheerfully performs.

The spiritual life and growth of a church are largely due to these quiet workers within and without. The history of its pastors is not the true record of a church, though by the prominence given to it, and the space it occupies, it often seems as if the pulpit was the root and stem and sap of all its fruitfulness. First in official position, in a Congregational Church the pastor is first among equals; and if it were not for men and women equal in spiritual excellence, and sometimes superior in their faculty for business and general winsomeness of life, the agencies of many a church would wither at the root. Mrs. Jeffery, widow of George Jeffery, was one of the commanding influences of the church, as unconscious of her power as a gem is unaware of its lustre. God had given to her a nature finely tempered, and she gave to the church a heart large enough to love every one, especially those in need. She was drawn to the poor and sick as a bee is drawn to the flower. She went from house to house not to gather honey, but to give it in the sweetness of loving counsel, in the charity of just such help as the occasion required. In 1857 Mr. John Perry, sen., Mrs. Perry, Mr. Pickering Phipps Perry, and Miss Susan Phipps, afterwards Mrs. Jonathan Robinson, all came to us from King Street Church. It was a spiritual fortune. They all soon found a place in the affection as in the service of the church.

Mr. JOHN PERRY (Grand-père).

Mr. John Perry was a robust miller with a "golden thumb," genial and honest to the core of his heart, held in honour for uprightness in the market as in the church. His house was the head-quarters of godly men, and there sometimes "laughter was shaking both its sides," sometimes deep concern was discussing the things of God. He was never so happy as when he was contributing to the happiness of others. He gave the first £100 for the enlargement of the chapel, and Mrs. George Jeffery gave the second. There were poor men who gave what was better than money. Joshua Stanford was one of them, a thoughtful, godly shoemaker, with great power in prayer. He was always at the Sunday morning prayer meeting, and in the winter was sometimes alone; as he could not sing he would read the hymns, read the scriptures, and pray, and by himself fill up the hour of prayer, and go home as if he had seen the face of God. His son Charles was in our Sunday school, but left it for the school at College Street. Unhealthy as a child, he was wheeled about in a carriage, and often passed Mr. John Perry's house. The little fellow stirred the motherly heart of Mrs. Perry. She took an interest in the boy; helped him in the ingenious ways of love. So that between them, Doddridge and College Street churches share the honour of rearing the gifted Dr. Charles Stanford.

We have heard much of the masterful deacon; he has been held up in derision, cast down in scorn as the torment of the pastor and the tyrant of the church. Among the thousands of good men who honour us by their service as deacons there may here and there be one who "rides the whirlwind and directs the storm," but in Doddridge Church he is not known, nor one anything like him. As far as my experience goes our deacons have been a crown of glory that fadeth not away—William Milroy and Jonathan Robinson elected in 1854; P. P. Perry and John G. Packe in 1859; George Bass, Henry Cooper, Alexander McCrindle, James Ellard, John Whitford in 1876. Had it not been for the unselfish love, the spiritual fervour, the gentle goodness of such men as these our church could not have done what she has accomplished, nor been what she is. Of these holy brethren Mr. John G. Packe was the first to leave us. In 1854 he was chosen an elder to visit the sick, five years later elected a deacon. His love of children made him a superintendent of the boys' school, and his passion for music made him leader of the service of praise. As a mark of esteem, when enfeebled with age, the church gave him an annuity of twelve shillings a week for the comfort of his remaining days. In 1878 he was called up to sing the new song.

In William Milroy, at the age of 96, death broke our last personal link with Philip Doddridge. Mr. Milroy had conversed with a man who had heard Doddridge preach. Led into truth under the gracious ministry of Mr. Hyatt, he loved this old house of God with all his heart. In his ninety-second year he still gave out the hymns in the chapel, walking four miles to and fro on Sunday, rarely absent, never late. Simple as a child, sturdy as an oak, he was full of all sweet charities, a delightful companion, a model superintendent of a Sunday school.

Jonathan Robinson was a rare example of "the perfect man." In his personal character, in his business transactions, in his home, as well as in the church, one felt that the Spirit of Christ was in him as the ruling force of his life. He was fifty-five years in the Sunday school as teacher and superintendent, and thirty-six years a deacon. His modesty declined muncipal honours, but for the church his zeal never wearied, his love never cooled. He did a giant's work, but did it with such simplicity and grace that he never made an enemy nor lost a friend. He was the first to welcome me to the town, and the loving-kindness with which he did it was a great force in overcoming my reluctance to accept so great a charge. He left us for the higher life in 1891, and left with us in Mrs. Robinson, a deaconess, one of whom it is impossible to speak fully without seeming to be fulsome. Her business aptitude, her unwearied patience, her consecration to every good word and work still makes us all her debtors, honoured and loved as widely as she is known.

Pickering Phipps Perry, who died murmuring, "My King, my King," gave us in that requiem the watchword of his life. Educated at Mill Hill school, his knowledge ripened unto wisdom, and made him a sagacious guide; keen of insight, with steady poise of judgment, his opinion on church affairs was always welcomed and rarely at fault. Generous beyond all praise, as teacher in a class, deacon of the church, mayor of the town, magistrate of the borough, he was everywhere a robust Nonconformist and ever loyal to his King.

James Ellard, in his love of music, turned to quieter paths, and made his life a concord of sweet sounds, though he had to touch some plaintive chords. In repairing and improving the chapel this Bi-centenary year, a "Memorial" has been erected to these four brethren, who as deacons welcomed me to the pastorate, and as fellow-labourers gave the most loving help. The marble tablet bears the inscription :—

Mr. JOHN PACKE.

In Grateful Remembrance
of four beloved Deacons whose united service,
as Superintendents of the Sunday Schools and Officers
of the Church,
continued for a period of more than one hundred and twenty years.
"Full of the spirit and of wisdom," they passed from toil to rest,

May 18th, 1890,	William Milroy,	aged 96.
Sept. 1st, 1890,	Pickering Phipps Perry,	,, 67.
March 1st, 1891,	Jonathan Robinson,	,, 65.
October 28th, 1892,	James Ellard,	,, 73.

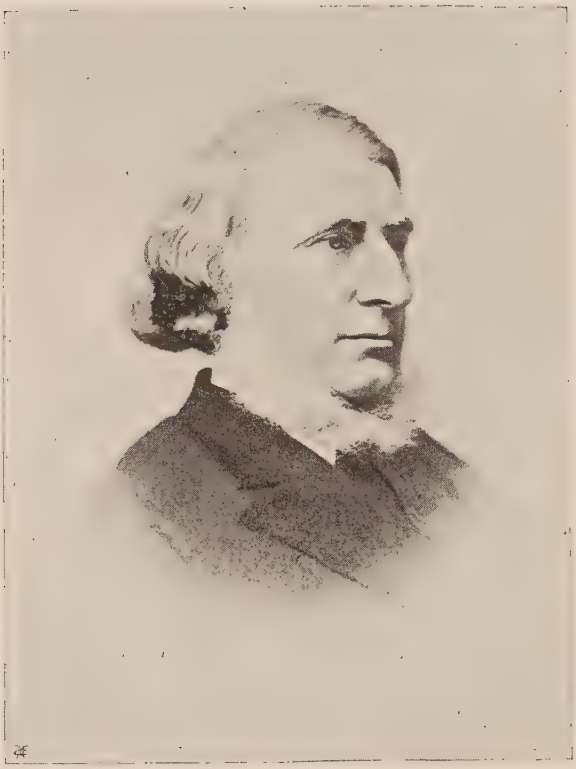
"Gentle in the midst of us, as when a nurse cherisheth her own children."
The love that made them serve was the gentleness that made them great.
Through the sadness of death, these partakers of the grace of Christ
Became the partakers of His glory in the perfect life.

Since they left us to learn life's deeper meaning, Thomas Pressland has joined them. For three years deacon and secretary, he served the church with splendid gifts of business detail; a man of affairs and foresight, "he was not for God took him." George Bass, after long years of service in church and school, is still as modest as a violet and as sweet. Henry Cooper, for thirty fertile years, has been the apostle of the young men; his special ministry, always in its prime, has built them up into a tower of strength, and, year by year, he has sent them to bench and counter, to desk and pulpit, with fuller life. Those who now serve the church adorn their office. Alexander McCrindle, the cultured local preacher, the mindful almoner of the church, was elected, in 1876, with John Whitford—"Honest John,"—who has nobly lived and would calmly die for the branch at St. James'. Samuel Facer, one of the oldest members of the church, thirty years ago had "carried on for a considerable period" the infant class, laying the foundation on which others have built—now as Secretary—a perennial spring of helpful thought and laborious work. He was elected, in 1891, with Joseph Jeffery, the ideal treasurer, whose conscience holds the purse as a fountain holds its flowing stream; George Higgins and George Latimer yoked together in patient love as superintendents of the School are training the coming men; Amos Smith, local preacher, teacher at St. James', a workman that needeth not to be ashamed; Edward T. Trenery, as busy as Martha without her care; Henry Wilson, with loving skill, fostering the branch on Kingsthorpe Road, nobly supported by George Oram, a

veteran in the School. They hold their office as a sacred trust; know no greater joy than to see their children walk in the truth, They are not only the harvestmen, but the harvest of the church—the fruit of the past, the root of the present, and the seed of good things to come.

We have thus briefly sketched the history of this much honoured house of God, the temple and the tomb, sepulchre and shrine of six generations. We have followed the waters which have "issued out from under the threshold of the house," hoary, but not enfeebled with its two hundred years. In the vision of the prophet the waters issued so that they had to flow uphill over the Judean watershed, this paradox in the vision he saw, is justified by the fulfilment we see in the history of this church. According to the religious census of 1676, in Northampton there were 2,535 Conformists and 43 Nonconformists. Among those faithful 43 we find the nucleus of Doddridge church. They followed the wise and holy men ejected from the Established Church, because they could not be disloyal to conscience and to Christ, the meeting of these persecuted saints for Christian fellowship in an out of the way place, this was the upward course of the stream at the beginning on Castle Hill. By the vital force with which God endowed it the rill widened into a river which has made glad the city of God. As we have traced its course we have seen men paddling in the water up to their ankles, walking in it up to their knees, wading in it up to their loins, swimming in the deep they could neither sound nor cross. The waters are running still, deepening in spiritual life, widening in tender service to the sick and sad. In this one line of Apostolic succession there have been twelve bishops, or pastors, differently endowed, the temper of their minds, the range of their intellect, the quality of their ministry, the result of their work have varied with the times, but the waters have run on. Many obstacles have hindered it, foes have threatened it, its only serious dangers have come from within, but the Spirit of God has secured a continuance of faithful men and women who have gloried in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the waters have run on. Its best and wisest men were not tributaries to the river, they were only its appointed channels, conveying what they received from above; the Holy Spirit has been the light and life of the church, the redeeming grace of Jesus Christ has been its theme, love has been its law, and consecrated lives have been its might. It has had no imposing ritual to impress, no gorgeous ceremony to attract, no priestly assumption to over-awe; it has stood by the simplicity that is in Christ, and by the side of his

great altar the waters have run on. Here and there they have been made turbid by the mixture of human error, now and then troubled by the outbreak of unguarded passion, but the all-healing stream has purified itself and settled into peace. For a "small moment" it has been diverted from its course, but it has turned back to its appointed place ; it has been straitened in its ways and means, but the willing hands of true affection have freely supplied its need, and the river still runs on. May its course be neither hindered nor diverted in the coming years, and "everything be healed and made to live whithersoever the river cometh," the secret of its power the Holy Spirit of God revealing and applying the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Divine Head of the Church.



Rev. T. ARNOLD.

REMINISCENCES

OF

FORTY YEARS.

THOMAS ARNOLD.

PREFATORY.

Hitherto I have steadily declined to publish anything about my youthful days, and how I was led to be a teacher of deaf mutes, and a minister of the church of Doddridge. But latterly I have been told that it will be done by some one as soon as I am with the departed. This has vanquished my scruples, and led me to write these Reminiscences that the reader may know the leading facts of my life, and not be deceived by fictions.

I am the last of my family. Brothers and sisters have all gone before and carried with them whatever is worth knowing of our records. With one exception their children have made themselves new homes in Australia or the United States, and know very little about our family traditions. Nor has a diary been kept or copies of letters preserved, for as Moravians we were suspicious that such records would be either too self-laudatory or depreciatory. In fact, almost every item that would be worthy of a place in a notice or biography is inscribed on my own memory, and will be blotted out by death.

But maturer reflection has led me to conclude that I ought not to depart in this manner. That I should fail in this bi-centenary year did I not let the church of Doddridge, of which I was pastor more than twenty-two years, know when, where, and how I had spent the more than forty years prior to my settlement as their minister. It is also due to the teachers of the deaf to let them know when and how I was led to find a place among them, be a member of their College, and invited to write their Teachers' Manual. Due also to the parents of above twenty of their afflicted children that I have orally instructed, to tell them something about the man in whom they confided so much as to let him be the teacher of their afflicted ones, made still dearer to them by their great privations.

And most of all, due to my God and Saviour, who called me to the work of a twofold ministry, who taught me from my youth by His chosen servants and made me an oral teacher of the deaf, by which they acquire the knowledge of sacred and secular truth, for He made me their missionary in vocation, sympathy, and self-consecration. They were sitting in the shadow of death and the silence of the grave till I was enabled by the language of touch, the twin sister of sound, to expel the gloom and by speech displace the silence. To Him belongs all the praise and glory who said "Ephphatha to the deaf, and their ears were opened and the string of their tongues loosed, and they spake plain."

CONTENTS OF REMINISCENCES.

PREFATORY ... —
PARENTS' MARRIAGE ... 4
ORIGIN OF MORAVIAN COMMUNITIES ... 5
HERRNHUT FOUNDED ... 5
THE MAIN WATER ... 7
GRACEHILL: SQUARE AND BURIAL GROUND ... 9
CHURCH FESTIVALS ... 10
SHADOW OF DEATH ... 11
EDUCATION ... 12
PUBLIC WORSHIP AND SACRED MUSIC ... 13, 14
MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH ... 15
SUPREME LAW OF SOCIAL LIFE ... 16
GOD AND NATURE ... 17
MY PASTOR ... 21
FIRST CONTACT WITH THE DEAF AND DUMB ... 22
FREE TO READ A LIBRARY ... 25
SISTER ELLEN'S MARRIAGE TO MR. GILBERT MCKEE ... 25
THE KIRKPATRICK ARMS ... 26
MISSION WORK AND SOCIALISM ... 27, 28
REMOVAL TO DONCASTER ... 30
ORAL TEACHING BY MR. J. HIND—METHODS, &C. ... 33, 34
FIRST ESSAY IN ORAL INSTRUCTION ... 39
A MORAL CONFLICT ... 40
CALL TO THE MINISTRY ... 43
COLLEGE LIFE ... 44
PASTORAL ENGAGEMENT AT HAMBURG ... 46
FIRST PASTORATE AND MARRIAGE ... 47
REMOVAL FROM BURTON TO SMETHWICK ... 47
MINISTRY AND ERECTION OF NEW CHAPEL ... 48, 49
REMOVAL AND VOYAGE TO SYDNEY ... 50, 51
SAILOR'S DEATH AND FUNERAL AT SEA ... 52
THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE, AND RELEASE OF AN ALBATROSS ... 54
WELCOME MESSENGER FROM LAND ... 55
RENEWED INSTRUCTION OF THE DEAF ... 57
SERIOUS ILLNESS ... 57, 58
RETURN TO ENGLAND, PRINCE DE BROGLIE ... 60
SINAI ... 63
HEBREW LIBERTY AND PAGAN BONDAGE ... 65
IMPORTANT DECISION ... 67
HOW WE FOUND OUR MINISTER, THE REV. J. J. COOPER ... 69

REMINISCENCES OF FORTY YEARS.

FAMILY TRADITIONS.

In June, 1690, King William III. led his army through Cheshire *en route* for Ireland to prosecute the war with James II. which had been successfully begun by the defence of Londonderry and the rout of Mountcashel's army at Newton Butler. Three brothers named Arnold joined the forces, and remained in the service till the close of the war. One of these was Robert Arnold, our great-great-grandfather. Their loyalty, bravery, and devotion had so distinguished them that they were rewarded with a grant of fine land in West Cavan, to be held conjointly. They returned to England, got married, and carried all they had to their new home. For a number of years little is known of their habits; only from what afterwards occurred in the family it is evident that they had begun to abandon themselves to the Irish manner of living described by Sir Jonah Barrington. They were masters, and behaved like masters. Hunting, fishing, and every other kind of field sport, filled up the day, and at its close the pleasures of the table.

I have heard that they were Puritans by descent, and therefore great-grandmother began to fear for the religious and moral future of her children. Their associates were wild and ungodly, and the clergy did little either to restrain or instruct them. Now, however, a great loss befel them, that gave the current of family life a new direction. Great-grandfather had gone across to Cheshire to visit his relatives. He arranged to return by Chester on an appointed day, but when he arrived he found that the vessel would not sail for a couple of days. Others were in the same plight, and, to while away the time, they engaged a boat to take them on a trip down the Dee. Either from a sudden gust of wind, or running on a concealed rock, the boat was lost, and all on board perished. Mother was in the fields at the time, but had such a sudden and vivid impression that her husband was drowned that she hastened home and told her children to mourn, for their father was dead. —I relate what I heard seventy years ago from one of these children, then herself eighty.—In a few days their fears were confirmed.

They had the sympathy of their relatives, but it did not console. The presence and comfort given by the Father of the fatherless and the Husband of the widow were needed. But there was no minister of Christ near who visited them and brought His words of consolation. She was therefore alone in this respect, yet not alone, for the Lord was providing more than she had asked.

The great revival of evangelical religion, of which the Wesleys, Whitfield, Cennick, and others, were the leaders, after extending over Great Britain, visited Ireland also. The Moravians were very active among the Protestants of the North. In many places it was like life from the dead. The ministry of John Cennick, who had assisted John Wesley for a time, was much favoured. He found his way to West Cavan on one of his tours. My great-grandmother heard him, entered into the peace of God and found comfort. At Coothill a Moravian congregation had been gathered. Bishop Böhler on a visit found its chapel almost completed. On the Rev. Benjamin Latrobe's visit in 1754, the chapel was finished. A parsonage was afterwards added. Bishops Gambold, Watteville, and Brother B. Latrobe, took part in the opening services.

Great-grandmother's conversion was an era in our family history. More than 140 years have passed away since then, and I am thankful to be able to say that the vine then planted has not ceased to yield fruit.

But great-grandmother's trials did not end with her conversion. She became much concerned about the salvation of her three children, for the temptations to which they were exposed in the society of their relations were stronger than they could resist or she prevent. She prayed much for them, searched the scriptures for direction, and the result was that she resolved on leaving the house and land she occupied, and joining the Brethren at Coothill. She could not sell them, for they were a part of the common property of the whole family. Her relatives bitterly opposed this step, but she was not to be moved, and being encouraged by the congregation she departed. The moral courage, self-denial, and faith of this surrender stirred my heart as a boy, excited my admiration, and bred the resolve to do likewise if ever called upon.

The following account of the reception of the Moravians in England has been contributed by the late Bishop England: "In 1749, Acts of Parliament were passed formally acknowledging the Moravians as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church" (with full rights and liberty of worship) "as countenanced and relieved by the Kings of England, His Majesty's

predecessors," and the legitimacy of their episcopal ordination was allowed by the archbishops and bishops of the Anglican Church, high enconiums being bestowed on the Brethren." The Rev. Dr. Hook, vicar of Leeds, had questioned the position and work of the Brethren in his sermon, "Hear the church," but was admirably answered by the Rev. John Smith, minister at Falneck, who among other things says, "The Episcopal Church constitution handed down to us from the earliest ages, with the church orders derived from that holy band of martyrs, the Vallenses, we still maintain. But I am free to confess there is one point we differ in from some modern holders of episcopacy. We do not, we dare not, condemn the administration of non-episcopal churches. We can give the right hand of fellowship to a Lutheran or a Presbyterian, or a Wesleyan or a Congregationalist; our motto is, 'Grace be with *all* who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' We own Lutherans and Dissenters, however their church constitution may differ from ours, if they are the children of God, as our Brethren; partakers with us of the grace of life, and with them we hope to dwell in the one home of our Father in heaven." This is the church to which our family was united.

It was a custom among Moravians that all their sons should learn some business, trade, or profession, by which they could earn a livelihood, whatever their circumstances might otherwise be. This, however, was indispensable in their communities. But it was a common custom in Germany. Their many wars, foreign and domestic, often left their nobles and gentlemen destitute. A trade enabled them to live. The late Emperor William I. was a blacksmith by trade. Grandfather had to learn a trade—I forget what—and settled down to a religious and industrious life. Afterwards he got married to Miss Ennis, only daughter of T. Ennis, Esq., who resided in the neighbourhood. She had joined the Brethren. When I saw her many years afterwards she was then above eighty, but still active, bright, and a very interesting talker. She had an excellent memory, and supplied me with interesting details of our family history. There were two sons and as many daughters. My father was the eldest. My aunts were living with her at Coothill, and my uncle was in the army. My grand-aunts were also still living at Gracehill in my boyhood—one in the sisters', and the other in the widows' house. The latter was the widow of Mr. James Smith, a Moravian; and the other a single sister who had spent at least fifty years of her life in a sisters' house, but the greater part of these at Gracehill. Both were much loved and revered by us for their simple piety and kindness of heart.

Their great age rendered them unfit for active employment, but they prayed daily for us, and oft visited us. The sister was much interested in my future. She often prayed specially for me when a child, that I should not only be a true Christian, but a minister of the Gospel. Long afterwards, when I had become a preacher, mother told me of this, and of a very impressive sign she made one day, that her prayers were heard; but of this I heard nothing, till I was in the ministry, lest my mind should be unduly influenced by the news. I cannot tell how much I owe her for her prayers, for she seemed my guardian near to God.

Father learned his trade from uncle Smith, then living at Gracefield, and was treated like a younger son. When he received his indentures he removed to Gracehill, found employment in the shop of Mr. O'Neil, known to be distantly connected with the Royal Family of Ulster. He was an excellent cabinet maker, and as father had learned carpentry with uncle Smith, he was able to combine them to our profit.

MARRIAGE OF OUR PARENTS.

Mother was then living with her cousin at Gracehill. She and father met sometimes and grew so much attached that they resolved to get married without appealing to the lot. She was without a permanent home, for her father was dead and her mother had married again. The family lived in Mourne, not far from Kilkeel. Her name was Magee, and her mother's, Spence. Their families came from Ayr, and were Moravians. At that time when a brother wished to get married he applied to the minister. "The name of the proposed sister was mentioned to the congregational authorities, who might on valid grounds refuse their sanction to the match. If approved by them the affair was submitted to the lot for final decision. In case of a brother not having a sister to propose and wishing to marry, or obliged to marry, if called to be a missionary, then the name of a sister considered suitable would be submitted to the lot. Whether in such cases they ever drew the name from a number I cannot say." (W.) Such a union it was said could not fail to be for the best. Of course only a limited number of single sisters were eligible. These marriages were often talked of. Some opposed them as contrary to natural law, but the majority defended them, for they had proved very happy in many instances, because both believed that the Lord himself had chosen and united them, and hence were prepared to love and cherish one another. Jewish marriages were arranged by either the parents or friends of the parties. Moravians

trusted to none but God himself in the disposal of the lots. Our parents were not married by lot, and the custom was, not long afterwards, discontinued, except when a brother was called to go out on missionary service and no previous engagement to a suitable lady had been made.

A house with a workshop was provided, and a farm, but the outhouses for this were insufficient, so that father had to put up with much inconvenience till a more suitable place became vacant. There they dwelt, till the increase of the family—three sons, of whom I am the youngest, and three daughters rendered our removal necessary. The new dwelling was better situated, and had workshops for cabinet-making and carpentry, with office houses for the farm. I was born three years before our removal on April 28th, 1816. My memory is so good that I can yet see the bricklayers and masons at work in making needed alterations and repairs.

ORIGIN OF MORAVIAN COMMUNITIES.

As Count Zinzendorf had much to do with founding Herrnhut, the first of these, some account of him is in place. He was a Saxon Nobleman, royally connected, of great ardour, and some eccentricities. Being of strong religious tendencies, he was placed under Professor Franke, the Pietist and founder of a celebrated orphanage at Halle. Soon he wanted to enter into holy orders, but being prevented by his friends, he purchased the lordship of Bertholdsdorf in Lusatia, and intended to pass his life there in retirement. When the Bohemian Protestants were almost exterminated by Roman persecution, one of them, Christian Davids, a carpenter and lay-preacher, afterwards an Elder and Missionary, led a number of them into Germany in search of protection, and a new home. They had heard of Zinzendorf, and obtained an introduction to him through his steward. His reply was that "the emigrants might come when they pleased to Bertholdsdorf and he would endeavour to provide a place for them where they would not be molested, and for the present he would receive them on his estate."

HERRNHUT FOUNDED 1722.

His majordomo took charge of ten persons, who came from Schen, in Moravia, and conducted them to a hill called the Hutberg, or watch hill, on the road to Zittau. He carefully examined this and the surrounding land, having fixed upon the ground there, they commenced to build, though it was far from promising—

almost a wilderness. "So they began their work without assistance, but cheerfully and full of hope." The first house was dedicated 1724, and the majordomo preached on Isa. lxii 2, "I have set watchmen upon thy walls O, Jerusalem," &c. and from this circumstance it was called Herrnhut—the Lord's watch. After his marriage Zinzendorf took possession of the mansion he had erected for himself at Bertholdsdorf. Here some religious friends joined him, of whom were Baron Frederic de Watteville, a fellow student, and the Lady Joanna Zerzschwitz, whom the Baron afterwards married. She had brought with her three or four girls to be educated under her care, and this was the foundation of the Economy of girls at Herrnhut. Thus early did their great educational work as a Church begin.

Other brethren fled from Moravia, and joined them, but "Those," says Crantz, in his history, "who sought nothing but the salvation of their souls, and on that account forsook their possessions, parents or children, friends and relatives, were favoured with such success, that they were often able to free themselves from their chains in a wonderful manner, to leap from a high prison without hurt, to pass through the guards undiscovered in the open day, or to run away and hide themselves from them." No doubt these confessors were armed with great courage, caution and adroitness in making their escape, but the Lord was on their side while their foes were uncertain of the justice of the persecution.

Zinzendorf was fully employed in organising the new community. Freedom from persecution, simplicity, Godly sincerity, and fraternal affection prepared them to receive the social constitution devised by him as their great benefactor. Religiously its cardinal principle of fraternal love founded on the love of Christ, according to his new commandment, commended it to their hearts and minds as Christians. To form a correct opinion of the shares of these Moravian Brethren, and of Zinzendorf, in moulding the community, we ought to know much more about their church life and social order at their Moravian villages and civic congregations. Possibly from being long persecuted, sympathy, mutual protection and assistance had drawn them into closer social relations and prepared them for the fuller development assured by the new constitution. However, lacking such information, nothing can be positively affirmed on the subject. That they were attached to their Church, order, and customs is evident from their refusal to be incorporated by the Lutheran Church, and to part with their ancient episcopacy and synodic, or Presbyterian, government of the church.

1727. *The first Orders or Statutes of the Congregation at Herrnhut was agreed to.* An elaborate religious regimen was adopted, in order to bring the members frequently together for worship, mutual exhortation, and supervision of daily life, to secure as far as possible the maintenance of the controlling and directing principle on which their permanence as a community chiefly depended. When the Rev. John Wesley visited Herrnhut he saw and admired the division of the congregation into choirs, the frequent meetings for mutual edification under competent leaders, their love feasts and brotherly intercourse. We know that they were adopted by Methodists with some modifications by his advice.

In attempting to reproduce my recollections of my birthplace, its religious and social life, I hope to be indulged in a description of some of its most interesting natural environs. As it is situated near a very pleasant river, to notice it first will enable the reader to form a better idea of its place in the landscape.

THE MAIN WATER

Which runs near Gracehill rises on the summit of that sombre chain of trap mountains which on its northern extremity looks down from Bengore and Causeway heads, six hundred feet, on the billows of the Atlantic; and on the southern from Cave Hill on Belfast and its bay.

At first the stream has to struggle for a separate existence through peat-bogs, and heaps of boulders, till it escapes into a valley looking westward, where its course is less hindered for a time, but sweeping round an intervening hill it runs due south down a glen of the finest scenery. The view from the head of this valley is much admired. The Antrim range guards it on the eastern side, and the lower range of heights, which separate it from Londonderry and the Bann, on the western. For some distance the glen is almost shut in by the hills, but gradually opening out by their recession it expands into one of the finest landscapes in the north. The land is fertile and well cultivated on to Lough Neagh's banks, and beyond it, on the south, embraces much of Downshire as highly cultivated, till the Mourne Range intervenes, whose serrated tops are seen in fine weather sixty miles off, like the Alps. Gracehill, almost hid among its wood, is on the right bank about four miles distant. From this point the river rushes through a narrow gorge round huge boulders, or tumbles over rugged ledges, making sweet music, with here and there a quiet pool into which the flies of some venturous fishermen are thrown for a fine trout or salmon.

Soon the hills recede, and leave a tract of meadow land, where snow-white linen is bleaching and the rumble of the beetling mill is often heard. Thus on for miles through similar scenes the river takes its course, with here and there a lofty bank too steep for cultivation, which is left to nature to clothe with clumps of hazel, furze, or blackthorn, that are garnished with bramble or woodbine, whose bloom and fragrance when the rising sun begins "to drink the dew" are enough to reward early rising and a walk of miles. The natural weir at Mount Davys, with the woods and lawns close by, are like a paradise to young dreamers.

After seventy years absence these scenes are still mine. I see the Main in all its wanderings, wade in its shallow fords, fish in its pools or under its "enamelled stones," swim in its cool depths, or pluck the mallows and meadow sweets on its banks, or, lying under some sheltering ledge, watch the wild bees bend down the bluebells whose honey they sip; or hearken to the sighing and whispering reeds, rushes, and tall grasses with which the breeze is playing, that somehow excite inarticulate longings, and open faint glimpses of the unending. Such a river I felt to be a loving gift of the Heavenly Father. It was always free and fresh to enjoy—changeful in its waters but the same in its course—a book that one could read without a care, and that taught many a lesson never to be forgotten. Thank God for this gift and all its pleasures!

GRACEHILL.

The Moravian Settlement is only a few miles from the centre of County Antrim. The main road that connects Ballymena with Portglenone forms one of its boundaries, and a base for its principal streets; these are two long, about one hundred and fifty yards apart, and two shorter that connect them, and divide the intermediate space into three blocks, one of which is square and the others oblong.

The principal buildings of the Settlement occupy three sides of the square. On the western side stands the church, plain but neat, with which at one end the minister's house and the warden's at the other are connected. The Sisters' House fills the remaining space on the north side of the church, and the Academy the other on the south. On the south side of the square there are one private dwelling, the shop, and the new Brethrens' House. And on the north, the Ladies' School and the Hotel, now a Boarding House. These are all well built, well lighted, and adapted to their various uses, but owe much to the opposite square.

"The Moravian Church in Ireland"

1 Church. 2 Old Parsonage.
3 Present Parsonage, formerly Warden.
4 Ladies School, formerly S.S. House.
5 Academy, formerly S.B. House.
6 Old Ladies School. 7 Hotel. 8 Widows.
9 Day Sch. 10 Shop. 11 S.B. House.
12 Burial Gd.

founded 1765: Settlement commenced 1759.

(from an old painting)
date say about 1800 as the Hotel was not added till 1795. The spire was placed 1777.

GRACEHILL nr Ballymena, Co. Antrim.

(Ballykennedy.)

when first built

THE SQUARE.

A colonnade formed of fine beeches and limes, with a well-kept gravel walk beneath, encloses this square. Providing both shelter and shade it is oft preferred to the streets. But when the bloom was on the limes, and the hum of bees, wild and tame, as they sipped the honey, greeted the ear, many lingered there seventy years ago. But we fear that time and storm have stripped them of much of their glory. In Mr. John England's drawing some are only stumps and others bare boughs from the decay of age or the storms. This square with its trees, broad walk, flowers, shrubs, fish-pond, and sun-dial, was a chief resort of youths and maidens. Free at all times to them it was brightest when the choirs celebrated their anniversaries. The view from the square down into the valley of the winding Main, with its demesne, woods, and fine old castle—a seat of Lord Mountcashel—often drew the gaze and arrested the steps.

Who are these boys that pursue and pelt one another about the square, or roll on the turf, or struggle by the hedge? Boys just let loose from school enjoying their liberty after irksome restraint. But who is the little fellow standing at that low sitting room window of the Sisters' House, and gazing on the fine old lady at her knitting? Youth still lingers in her loving smiles as she produces an apple kept for him. That is grand-aunt Ellen, who has spent more than fifty years in this and other sisters' houses in sweet content. When we meet again both will be young in immortal youth.

THE BURIAL GROUND.

But there is another open space, hardly less attractive. This is the Burial Ground on the hill behind the church. Two finely-shaded avenues lead up to its solemn gates. It is oblong, surrounded by a soft mossy bank, quick-set hedge, and full-grown Scotch firs. The paths are of the greenest of turf, and these divide it into two large sections, each of which is sub-divided by cross paths. The female remains are on one side, and the male on the other, as they sat at church. Each grave has only one tenant. The grave stones are plain slabs, no "uncouth rhymes or shapeless sculpture" deck them, but the name, age, and birth-place of the slumberers. Nature had done much by clothing all the ground with the richest green to conceal the memorials of death, and it became the favourite promenade of some who liked to converse on literary, scientific, or religious topics, or it may be, those who according to Moravian custom, could not unblamed associate in public.

For some of us the place had a weird attraction when the wind sighed among the firs, because we could indulge in more pensive feelings. Mr. James Montgomery, the poet, whose parents had lived for a time at Gracehill, well describes the scene in "The World before the Flood."

> "The little heaps were ranged in comely rows,
> With walks between, by friends and kindred trod,
> Who dressed with duteous hands each hallowed sod, . . .
> The high, the low, the mighty and the fair,
> Equal in death were undistinguished there,
> Yet not a hillock mouldered near the spot
> By one dishonoured or by all forgot. . . .
> And oft the living by affection led,
> Were wont to walk in spirit with the dead. . . .
> 'Twas not a scene for grief to nourish care,
> It breathed of hope and moved the heart to prayer."

Mother's remains rest there.

Our description may seem too minute, but it is given to show that Moravians are neither gloomy nor morose, but bright from pure joys, peaceful minds, and anticipations of Paradise. Brethren from Germany had laid out the settlement after the type of Herrnhut. They had brought their music, love of trees, plants, and flowers with them, and these were carefully cultivated so that every part of the settlement had something to please the taste. The best was made of the scene.

THE CHOIR FESTIVALS

Were held in spring and summer. The single sisters celebrated theirs early in May. The day was early welcomed by the local band in joyful chorals. Flowers culled in field or garden strewed the walks to the church, and when the bell rang out the hour of meeting, along these paths came the sisters while we performed the choicest chorals. They were all arrayed in snow-white robes, net or cambric caps adorned with finest satin-stitch and pink ribbons. All have now entered in, for the music has ceased and the doors are shut. The service was usually conducted by the congregation minister. Sweetest singing, a love-feast, with short appropriate addresses.—Thus the day was spent. The young, the fair, the more advanced and aged who still continued single, were united there, not by constraint, but by free will and happy choice, for no sad regrets clouded their bright prospects, the redeeming love of the Saviour had set them free. Not that all were perfect. They had their faults, but were ever striving by divine aid to be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. Missionaries' daughters, teachers from the schools, ministers to the young,

with many active servants of the Lord in other offices, rejoiced together and praised the Lord for the help of His countenance during the past year.

THE SHADOW OF DEATH.

Other scenes also were witnessed at Gracehill. Disease and death invaded the Settlement, for man has never planted a paradise from which death could be excluded, but its terrors are diminished where there is a good hope of eternal life. The atmosphere of the sick-room is changed by its presence, and parting is not so sad when meeting again in blessedness is assured. They die most peacefully and contentedly who have lived most for the good of others. "They rest in the Lord." Their common home, their united worship, their brotherly love and the religious aspects of everything around them, made heavenly things seem nearer, "for they looked not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." Prepared to depart, the messenger sent to invite them home did not surprise them by his entrance, for it was the will of Him who had taken away its greatest evils.

When a brother or sister departed, the musicians assembled in the cupola of the church and performed appropriate sacred pieces—not most melancholy, but beginning with the pensive and rising to the jubilant, for "they that die in the Lord" pass on to the city where "there is no more death, neither sorrow," but "exceeding joy and glory." Thus death was announced to the whole community, and entrance on eternal life proclaimed.

The small estate—about 200 acres—on which the Settlement stands, was laid out by Brethren from Germany and England who understood its requirements for health, convenience, water-supply, and beauty. They divided it into smaller and larger farms, corresponding with the wants of their schools, choir houses, and the householders of the community. Neat and comfortable dwellings were built for them with office houses for trade and farming uses. The rents were moderate, and the soil so productive, that thoughtful industry could reap enough to secure a comfortable maintenance for themselves and their households. In addition to farming, some carried on a trade, or manufacture of articles, for which the demand being greater in winter, all their time was occupied; but in summer, when the demand was often limited, they turned out on their farms and cultivated them as freemen do. As my youth was spent in such a home I soon found that we

were physically and mentally benefitted by the diversity of employments. Large kitchen gardens with fruit trees were attached to all the homes, which led to growing many useful vegetables as well as potatoes. Flowers and shrubs also had their places, and their culture as the fairest productions of the soil had a most helpful influence on the growth of the best habits and purest tastes.

The enormous increase of our trade and manufactures has brought together great masses of population from whom nature is almost excluded by narrow streets and murky skies. Everything is artificial, and generally far from pleasant to the senses. These have their advantages, but many greater privations. Social contact and intercourse is profitable when moderately available, but when it is compulsory, from lack of space, it is often corrupting, for it deprives the physical and mental sides of the works of God that are felt, heard, and visible in field, garden, and landscape, and form some of the greatest factors in our full education. All our senses can find temperate gratification in a garden. We smell the sweet-scented flowers, taste the ripe fruit; touch the finest, softest forms; hear the singing of the birds, and admire all that colour adds to adorn them. Mental culture is largely promoted with such surroundings. As the Settlement required workmen, servants, and farm labourers in addition to the family supply, they had to be engaged from elsewhere. Care was taken that only those of good character were employed. Some of these became Moravians, but others retained their evil habits, and were secret corruptors of the youth.

EDUCATION.

Day schools were provided for the boys and girls of the settlement, and these were so much better than ordinary that children were sent from the neighbourhood, and some from a distance, who lodged in the settlement, to attend them. There were also large boarding schools where a liberal education was given. Germans had taken the lead in founding them, and they were noted for the thoroughness and superiority of their methods. Sons and daughters of gentlemen from a distance were admitted, and their confidence in the impartiality and catholicity of the principals and teachers was so great that they never suspected that the religious tenets of their children would be tampered with in their education. "In 1641 Bishop Amos Comenius was so famous as an educator that the English Government urged his presence in this country, with the view to effect an improvement in the educational system of the

Universities and Public Schools." Germany had then the lead in education, while our schools were deficient in the management and the higher instruction of the scholars. The reputation of Moravians in education was already known and the schools they opened in connection with their settlements were patronized by the gentry of different denominations. Thus they did much by their improvements to prepare the way for the advances of our own times.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

In this respect members of the church had their special seasons, but public worship was free to all, and as Moravians had inherited from their persecuted ancestors broader views on what really constituted membership of the Church than most denominations, strangers who attended were not troubled with controversial discussions, but heard the Gospel of the grace of God in its simplicity and power. Enough for them if they learned that any one was in possession of life in Christ, with a simple belief of the truth, and living a Godly life, he was a brother and fully recognised as such, whatever was his denomination. In Germany they symbolize with Lutherans in the Augsburg confession of faith, and in England with the evangelicals of all the Protestant Churches. Never forward to take part in religious controversy or to be identified with professors of extreme views, or to attempt the dogmatic definition of the mysteries of the Divine Nature, whose comprehension surpasses man's intellect and knowledge, they have lived in peace among themselves and with all others.

On the other hand they have ever been devoted to teaching and preaching the Gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, as witnessed in the infinite love of God manifest in the Incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ, his life of poverty and humility, his miracles of mercy on the souls and bodies of dying men, his pardon of the greatest sinners, his sacrificial and atoning death, and his resurrection from the dead, by which the work of full redemption was completed for all who believe in Him.

These are the saving truths that they preach, and are believed by all their missionary converts from Greenland to Australia. These, too, are the doctrines which Bishop Spangenberg and Brother Peter Böhler made known to the Rev. John Wesley, and were a new revelation to him because he had previously held them "according to the letter in a general form without a personal reception." The now celebrated conversation between Bishop Spangenberg and Mr. Wesley took place when the latter

consulted him "on his own conduct in a new situation." The German replied "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions: Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God." As Wesley was not wont to be catechised, he was surprised and knew not what to answer; the German perceived this and said "Do you know Jesus Christ?" After a pause he replied, "I know he is the Saviour of the world." "True," rejoined Spangenberg, "but do you know he has saved you?" Wesley answered, "I hope he has died to save me." The Moravian only added "Do you know yourself?" Wesley answered "I do," but feared he was uttering vain words."—*Southey's Life of Wesley, vol. 1, p. 77.*

The Rev. Dr. James Rigg gives the following account of Mr. Wesley's conversion. "While John was entering this Bethesda Charles stepped in before him This was on Sunday, the 21st of May. It was not till Wednesday, the 24th, that John Wesley, according to the beautiful and familiar account which we have in his own words, "felt his heart strangely warmed, felt that he did trust on Christ—Christ alone for salvation, and had an assurance given him that Christ had taken away his sins, and saved him from the law of sin and death. This day, May 24, 1738, is a great landmark in the history of Wesleyan movements."—"The Living Wesley," p. 115.

An essential difference in the leading forms of believing the Gospel is revealed in the above conversation. The first we call general, the second personal. Mr. J. Wesley had long believed that Christ was the Saviour of men, and able to save, yet remained in this state without any personal interest in Him as his Saviour, still striving to complete what he thought was yet wanting by a most diligent use of Church services, fasting, and prayers. It is to be feared that there are many whose faith is of this general form.

The personal is believing not only that Christ died for sinners, but for each to whom the glad tidings come — for you, for me, for every one into whose ears the words of life shall enter. When mind, heart, and soul admit these words, which reveal Christ as the Saviour, the Gospel is personally believed, and this is what Spangenberg brought home to Wesley.

SACRED MUSIC.

Music, vocal and instrumental, had a leading place in Moravian worship, and was well adapted to their fine German hymns. Some of these were translated by the Wesleys, and many others by their own ministers. Zinzendorf was a prolific

hymn-writer, and in more recent times the Latrobes did much to render their sacred music better adapted to English taste. James Montgomery also supplied many fine hymns, that others have borrowed, and did much to soften down the ruggedness of earlier translations.

The poetic and musical genius of German Protestants found its highest expression in sacred verse and its accompaniments. Reflective and meditative, they excelled in their harmonies more than in their melodies. The quick movement which Anglo-Saxon sacred music requires is rarely heard in German chorals. As their melodies are dependent on fine harmonic relations for their full expression, the movement seems slow, but only to those who cannot appreciate the pensive minors which seem echoes to tender and elevated religious emotions. Attempts have been made to adapt them to English popular demands, but at the sacrifice of their beauty and grandeur.

Litanies are used in Moravian public worship. Parts of them are ancient but simple, and devoid of the classical structure and rounded periods in which some litanies are expressed. The forms are therefore such as earnest spiritual worship prefers, not burdened with many repetitions, and interspersed with hymns that seem to give a poetic form to the preceding petitions. Liturgic musical services are also held in which children are invited to take a part. These are composed of hymns and select scriptures which unitedly give full expression to the chosen theme. By such means, as well as by reading the scriptures and prayer, they seek to elevate their spiritual worship, and to make it as exalted in form as the inspired truths and praises it embodies. But they take care not to petrify their services by invariable forms. Free prayer has its place here also, and in some services no forms are used, but the minister prays "*as he has ability*" to give expression to the intercessions and praises of the many.

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

Was well devised for the public and private presentation of such doctrines. But it was not enough in their view to appoint a converted, educated, and able preacher of the Word, they also appointed a minister or *labourer* to each of the choirs, or sections into which the church was divided, so that each might have a well qualified brother or sister for their minister, whose duty it was to take a special interest in them, visit them in sickness and at other times, especially young men and young women who were not decided, or about whom the trials and temptations incidental to their age and state, required watchful-

ness, instruction, and encouragement. This was an excellent arrangement, and anticipated much of what is done for the young by our faithful Sunday school teachers, and if it had been well attended to, would have done much towards originating the religious life on which their very existence as a community depended. I regret to say that in my youth it was very much a form, and must have been a loss to the minister, who also might have learned much about the moral and spiritual needs of the young, of whom one day he might have to be the public teacher. Our Sunday school teachers now occupy the place, and make the best preparation for the ministry to which they may be called, by educating the young in the facts and doctrines of Holy Scripture. When we think for others, we provide for ourselves. Children's meetings were appointed, which the young of all the schools were expected to attend. The minister's address was often very appropriate and impressive, but somewhat lacking in the warmth and happy illustrations that interest English children. Germans were not quite at home in the British Isles. But great changes have taken place since my youth, and this ministry is better adapted to the wants of the young. How the ministers of the other choirs discharged their duties, I cannot say, for our family left the settlement before I was even a young man. In addition to these public meetings for children, the minister of the church came to the boys' or girls' school on an afternoon every week, and catechised the scholars in the *summary* of *Christian doctrine*, which contained a series of questions on the leading facts and doctrines of Christianity. The answers were wholly in the words of scripture. But he did not bind himself to the book, in the answers he found subjects for exposition, and other questions requiring thoughtful replies. The Moravian settlement at Gracehill has been rightly called a community, for it was a sincere and honest endeavour to unite a number of Christian families in such social relations as would provide for all their religious and temporal wants—free from luxury, penury, and neglect.

THE SUPREME LAW OF SOCIAL LIFE

Was the love of Christ as expressed by obedience to His new commandment—"A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another" (John xiii. 34). For to these simple-minded Christian brethren it appeared that the love of Christ was the only affection that could subject selfishness to efficient control, and secure the commonweal without trenching on individual rights,

Or, in other words, the ownership of property was not to be held as absolute, but limited and regulated by the Spirit of God according to brotherly love, as shown by the example of the primitive church. Let no one think or speak lightly of this supernatural manifestation of heavenly love, for it is of immense value as showing to what a height of self-denial for the good of others the love of Christ can exalt redeemed men and women. Its stay then was too short, but long enough to teach the church what it might become under this supreme law. Again and again it has appeared, but the churches have failed to discern its super-excellence to all human social laws. But it is more than a prophetic phase, it is an ideal and a stimulus to wean the churches from vain attempts to raise men to the highest moral and social level by any other law or device. The Moravians dreamt this dream of an earthly paradise, and had they not interfered too much with the liberty of the sons of God might have dwelt in it for generations. They were prudent enough not to interfere with the rights of personal property, but taught and practised the love that in each would regulate its use. While they did not enact that there should be no rich among them, they affirmed that there should be none destitute, none idle, none oppressed with excessive labour, no orphans nor children destitute of a home or unprovided for or uneducated ; and chiefly no destitute aged brethren or sisters, but provision made for their comfortable maintenance ; nor any sick member of the community without a nurse and medical attendance, if their own means were deficient ; nor were the sorrows of the mind, the great troubles and trials of life overlooked. Tender-hearted, experienced brethren and sisters, gently and wisely solicitous for their good, visited and sat with them till the evil day was past. These things have I seen. Zinzendorf or some one else of the founders sought to realize pure family life on a wider scale.

No police, nor officer of any kind, save a night-watchman, was provided to awe, restrain, and punish evil-doers. Their need was not anticipated, and therefore no place of confinement was prepared. But if there were offenders, surely they were punished somehow ? Yes, there was one punishment, but it was never resorted to till love had exhausted all its resources—the erasion of their names from the church roll, and their exclusion from the Settlement. In relation to rich or even wealthy brethren, I cannot recollect one such ; but there was a wealthy lady (Mrs. Bates), who had become a Moravian, and spent her fortune in new buildings, repairing the old, and increasing the appliances to promote health and comfort.

The Pentecostal manifestation of brotherly love in the primitive Church was extraordinary and supernatural, for it witnessed to the presence in their hearts of a moral constraint to which they had been strangers till they were baptized by the Holy Ghost into the knowledge and love of Christ. Hence selfishness was so subordinated to love of the brethren that "neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common" (Acts). The well-being of the whole church as a controlling principle had taken the place of that of the individual under the moral force of this new law of Christ. But evidently not after the innate tendency of their hearts. It was a signal sign of the new birth, a supernatural work which elevated them into a higher life—a higher moral level—to which they had not progressively climbed, and in which they were not likely to abide unless sustained by the same supernatural energy. It was therefore a manifestation of what Christians might be made by the power of the Holy Spirit and the love of Christ.

It soon became evident that it was not the mind of the Spirit to continue this supernatural control, but to leave the brethren to the ordinary moral conflicts arising from the presence and opposition of selfishness to brotherly love, in order to secure the progress that follows the subordination of the former to the latter. The grace of God would be sufficient for this if sought and obtained by faith. And of this we have fuller evidence in the absence of any attempt on the part of the apostles to control or regulate this extraordinary benevolence. The seven are appointed to distribute the spontaneous gifts of others as intended, and not to prescribe the amounts or suggest their continuance. Nor was there any attempt to organise a society on this higher level. And what the primitive church, in the full possession of the gifts of the Spirit, did not venture to do, is not likely to be compassed on the lower level of the spiritual life on which the great majority of the churches are seen to exist.

Yet on the other hand the churches in almost every age have not been destitute of instances in which the faithful and persevering use of spiritual gifts has led up to the higher level on which selfishness was brought under the complete control of the love of Christ, and every possession, mental, moral, and material, devoted to the glory of God and the good of others. Thank God! His Churches contain many consecrated ones whose "voices are not heard in the streets," "and their speech distils as the dew." But any attempt to unite them into communities or concentrate their work would be to take the hidden leaven

out of the meal, and leave it still unleavened. That a social community could be founded and perpetuated in which the happiness and well-being of all could be moderately secured without such a fundamental law, and in which selfishness would have its unrestrained freedom, under the form of utility, seems hardly possible. The attempt has often been made, but has often failed. It was a body without a soul, and soon perished from its own corruption. The state of China is a sad illustration of what enthroned selfishness develops.

Even were all the members of a Moravian community living under the control of brotherly love, there is no certainty that their children would be their successors. We have seen families enjoy every domestic advantage in moral and religious education, but some of whom soon revealed passions and tendencies utterly alien to the supreme law of the community, while the others became exemplary and devoted members of the Church. The disintegration of the whole would begin were the former not excluded.

What practical truths and principles were learned from my Moravian education? Well, first and chief, the knowledge of the Son of God as uniting in himself every moral perfection for our imitation. Next, as transcending our highest ideal of all that is Godlike, so that in seeing Him we see God. Then the clear perception of His unbounded love in becoming man, living, dying and rising again for our full salvation. Then the personal possession by faith of his love, so that "we know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge," and this is "the fulness of God," and the highest happiness.

This love has its practical evidence in brotherly love, which leads to kindness, good will, mutual helpfulness, sympathy with every one in trouble, sickness or distress of any kind, with the free and full forgiveness of every injury or wrong when confessed, and because the peace of God fills the heart, the exclusion or avoidance of all that would irritate, lead to discord or divisions, not only among brethren, but among all men. These are some of the truths and principles I bore away from Gracehill, not in the exact words by which they are expressed, but in their substantial meaning. Nor that I saw them fully exemplified in every member, but their practical attainment was endeavoured, and exemplified by not a few.

GOD AND NATURE.

Again, the relations into which I was brought with the visible creation were analogous, and have greatly contributed to my

enjoyment and instruction. A simple illustration will best exhibit what is meant.

I have never been able fully to account for the strong attraction and mystic charm certain scenes had on my mind and heart as a youth. One of these was a field with a fine hawthorn fence on two sides. The other two had only a low turf bank with a gentle brooklet for their boundary. Thence the field gradually rose to the angle formed by the hawthorn hedges. That corner or angle was my chosen seat, for there the whole field could be seen at a glance. Now, when the corn was coming into ear, and the full sunlight pouring down on its dark green leaves, that were undulating like ocean's waves, with reflected sheen, and countless smiles, which flooded my soul, I listened to their strange whisperings, and gazed liked one enchanted on the rhythmic flow, the harmony of colours ; felt the presence of young life ; and the magic beauty of the whole, as one possessed by another spirit, that at once lifted me into the presence and worship of God, the Creator, of whose awful beauty and glory it was only a reflection, and I adored Him whom this robe concealed, and who is behind and above all things infinitely more perfect. Without this use of the teaching of nature, I should have been an idolater. The mental bound in my case from the material to the spiritual—the Creation to the Creator—was immediate. No sceptic questionings or doubts intervened between me and my Father, because the primal harmony between man and nature had been restored by " Him who took away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." In Him I was reconciled to God, and this reconciled me to nature. " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God "—see Him in Christ and see Him in His works.

Yes, it may be answered, but these are only the dreams of youth. Not so, they are also the dreams of old age that have come again after a life of effort, as fresh, holy, and divine as when first dreamt. There must be something in and behind them of the imperishable and heavenly, else they would not abide so long. And were they only fancies they would be infinitely better to one standing on the shore of this life, with the Isles of the Blest in view, than to be bidding an eternal farewell to the material god of this world, whose last embrace is *nihil*. This faith made the heavens and the great world wherever I wandered in after years a temple of God for His renewed worship.

As closely as I can recollect these are a reproduction of what I learned, thought, and felt in my youth. Physical decline has set in, and the thought that grasps and handles higher things

in science is not so vigorous, yet conscious of being the same as when I sat admiring and adoring in the corner of that field; the continuity of my mental and spiritual life is the same, only the garment given it to wear for a time is much worn and will soon drop off, but "We know that if the earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

MY PASTOR.

On a fine morning, in the spring of 1830, a gentleman mounted on a beautiful bay gelding, rode up to our workshop, and asked me to hold his horse while he went in to speak to father about some furniture he required for the Rectory. This gentleman was the Rev. George Kirkpatrick, lately come to reside there as Curate-in-charge of the very large parish of which Archdeacon Alexander, residing at Portglenone, was the incumbent, but the very infirm state of whose health did not permit him to do much in the discharge of his duties.

I was deeply impressed with Mr. Kirkpatrick's appearance. He was tall and slender, yet well proportioned, with a fine head, fair hair, grey eyes, and a face of rather Scottish type, but in every line and feature expressive of gentleness and kindness. There was the music also in the tones of his voice of a highly cultured mind. Little did I imagine as I looked at him how much he would have to do in moulding my character. Nor did I imagine that God had sent him at the time a strong hand was most needed to restrain and direct my wayward youth. Sixty-five years have rolled round since that day, but the photo of his personal appearance and voice has not faded. When he came out I learned that he had ordered the furniture. He mounted, rode off, and I began to think of future possibilities. When the furniture was ready it was taken to the Rectory. This was the first of many happy visits. We saw Mrs. Kirkpatrick, an exceedingly bright and pleasant lady, who spoke some kind words to us. She was the only daughter of a Dean. As he took a great interest in the young, he noticed me, talked with me, and invited me to be one of a class of young men he was forming. Our meetings for instruction were to be held in the church every Monday morning.

This time was eagerly anticipated, and I was there before the hour. We met in a large square pew by the pulpit. After prayer, and reading the passage of scripture he had selected for the lesson, he began its exposition with a series of well-devised questions, by which he succeeded in *drawing out* our little knowledge of the meaning. Then out of his own stores he

added facts and illustrations that made the sense luminous and impressive. There was warmth and sympathy in his manner. But he did not seek to *pour in knowledge only*, but made it a means of exciting reflection and enquiry for our mental culture. Thus he got into touch with us, acquainted himself with our capacity, and adapted his teaching to our dispositions. We were pleased, grateful, and stimulated to the study of the scriptures. We also observed that he gave clear expositions of the cardinal doctrines of our religion, such as justification by faith, and holiness as its fruit. I felt like a thirsty traveller in the desert who finds a well of living water of which he freely drinks and comes again. Thoroughly evangelical, he knew and loved the truth, for it had made him free, and he longed and prayed that by its knowledge we also should be made free.

THE DEAF AND DUMB.

My first contact with an instructed deaf mute was about this time, and due to the great interest Mr. Kirkpatrick took in their education as a class. He had been for years a liberal subscriber to the Claremont Institution, entertained the annual deputations, and sent some scholars to the school from the north. The secretary had written to him about one of their boys, who was about to leave school, and whom he was anxious should learn a trade. My brother was spoken to about him, and he agreed to have him—board and lodge him. James Beatty had spent some years at Claremont, been taught by signs, writing and the manual alphabet. My interest in him was quite roused. I speedily learned the finger alphabet and his mimic gestures. He resorted to few arbitrary or artificial signs in conversation, and his vocabulary was very limited, so that he often found himself at a loss to express his thoughts. I felt for him, for he uttered strange noises on these occasions. His ideas of things were chiefly pictorial, and his composition in accordance. This led me to endeavour to aid him by referring to some other simpler incident in which the word found its place. He was not naturally quick and intelligent, yet in time made a good workman, and earned his living on the estate of Earl O'Neill. Thus I was baptized to be a teacher of his class, though I knew it not till years afterwards.

Mr. Kirkpatrick had founded a Sunday School, and appointed me to the senior class of boys as a teacher. I was incompetent, but it led me to the closer study of the scriptures and of books that would enable me to illustrate the lessons. All this was providential. Our removal from Gracehill to Ahoghill had brought me into contact with a class of young people who did

not fear God, but were addicted to pleasure. I was grievously tempted, and should have fallen low had I not resolved to give up their society and devote my leisure hours to reading and study. It was at first difficult, but I was helped of God, and Mr. Kirkpatrick's teaching and example led me to make him my ideal of a Christian minister. I also became a total abstainer, never took a pledge, but cultivated the moral courage that enabled me to say "No" to it, gambling, and every other vice. Great was the mercy of God my Saviour to me at this critical season of my life!

For two more years after leaving Gracehill I was sent to Mr. Martin's school at Bridgend. He was a noted master. With him I learned the mathematics and book-keeping required in our business. Good progress was made in the time, for I loved to learn, but after all it seemed to me that I had climbed only some of the lower heights of science.

At the end of the season I turned into the shop, not as an articled apprentice, but to get a practical knowledge of the business. Yet my heart was not there. But it was of no use to contend with necessity. God alone could open a way of escape. I did my duty in the shop and on the farm. Work always brought pleasure. My book, however, was not far off, and occupied every minute that could be spared. In fact, the passion for knowledge so increased that I became envious of sleep, and managed to shorten it by some precious hours.

Once Mr. Kirkpatrick called to see father for a special object. I was the subject of conversation, as I soon afterwards learned. He told father that the opinion he had formed of my character and abilities was such that he thought I ought to prepare for the ministry in his church, and as father might not be able to bear all the expenses of a University education he was prepared to bear them himself. Father was grateful for the generous offer, and glad to hear such a good opinion of his son, but he regretted much to say that I could not be spared from the business. There was no one to take my place. Mr. Kirkpatrick was disappointed, but perceived that circumstances did not favour his design. When I learned from father the object of his visit I was heart-smitten. It was my first great trial in life. The cup I thirsted to drink of was at my lips, but dashed down by hard necessity. Yet I durst not complain. Not lack of love, but of ability was in the way. The business did require my presence, and would suffer if it was left; and in the fields, alone with God, and taking all the circumstances together under the light of reason and conscience, I learned my duty, and I submitted. Yes, and it was well, for I learned that even

science is not the greatest good, but only a means to a much higher end. God is light; all knowledge is His to give, and for His service. I must trust and wait. A similar proposal was made by Mr. Kirkpatrick's brother, then on a visit from Canada, to take me with him and educate me for the law, but it was not accepted. As I had no desire to be a lawyer I had no regrets.

Two years after my disappointment, my brother Samuel was married, and took over the business with our full consent. Another house was then built for us on a small farm, managed by father. This left me at liberty to pursue my own course. Just then the Moravians at Gracehill wanted a master for their boys' school, for which I applied, and was accepted. The remuneration was not great, but it brought me into contact with educated teachers, and into a work I much liked. I could learn by teaching, and the impulses to study would be multiplied. My sister Margaret was then teacher of the girls' school, and for many years after. A mathematical master was found in the settlement, but for Greek I had to go to Ballymena. Three lessons a week cost me eighteen miles on foot, and the lack of the accustomed tea. But I was young, robust, full of hope, and trust, and thought nothing of the toil. Besides, I could hum over the Greek verbs without interruption. I think I remember where I repeated *Pherō*.

My return was late on these evenings, and the way was often dark, but more than half a mile from our home on the *brae* I could see the bright light placed in the window by mother. But there was a brighter light behind it that now shines clearly in my heart. Mother was waiting for me, that I knew, and had a hot supper on the hearth. Soon I was there, made ready, and sat down to its enjoyment with a double relish. Love makes the plainest meal a luxury. Gratitude, admiration, and reverence, bound me closely to her. She had read "The British Nepos" to me, felt something of its inspiration, and it passed on to me. Her reading was extensive for one who had so many family claims to satisfy. Her memory was excellent, and she could turn its stores to account. We had been six at home till of late, and her time and strength were devoted to our education after Moravian customs and ideas. Father's engagements did not permit him to give much of his time to the family. Esteemed for his ability and liberal opinions, his company was sought, but he was never an active politician. Moravians generally eschewed party politics and took no part in the celebrations that roused animosity in the minds of their neighbours. They were at peace with all men. However, it is difficult to keep politics out of a community made up of three nationalities.

One evening some reference was made to the rebellion of '98 and mother told me of a scene she had then witnessed. When it broke out a large contingent of United Irishmen passed over the Bann from Londonderry into Antrim, intending to anticipate the Loyalists in the possession of Ballymena. On their march they had to pass by Gracehill, but to the dismay of the Moravians they marched through the settlement ; respected everything ; purchased and paid for what they wanted at the shop or inn ; and departed without appropriating even a fowl. She added that many of the United Irishmen were Protestants, for the doctrines of the French Revolution had spread among all classes in Ireland, Scotland, and even England, but that the assassination of Lord O'Neill at Antrim and the massacres of Wexford had quickly alienated the Protestants and Catholics. A repetition of such a civil war would intensify this alienation beyond anything hitherto felt or known.

FREE TO READ A LIBRARY.

Some work to be done led me to the rectory one evening. Mr. Kirkpatrick's interest in my reading led him to enquire about my stock of books ; and learning how small it was he rose up and asked me to follow him into his library. I had seen it before, and I could not but feel covetous—not of them, but of their contents. Turning to me, he said, with a beaming countenance, "I know you are fond of reading, and, as you cannot buy books, all these are before you to read as you get time." It was so great a boon that my voice failed me in thanking him. The works were a selection of the best of our literature—history, poetry, travels, and theology were well represented, and I departed with Josephus as the first course. I ought to say that Sir Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth were the only representatives of their class.

About this time my eldest sister Ellen, who had kept a school, assisted by my youngest sister, for better class girls, was married to Mr. Gilbert McKee, master of the Erasmus Smith School, Portstewart. He was highly esteemed by the parents of all his scholars, and all who knew him, for he was a good, kind teacher, assiduous in the discharge of his duties, and a blameless Christian. In him I not only found a brother, but a helper and encourager of my pursuit of knowledge. The school-house stands near the cottage in which the father of Dr. Adam Clark kept his school, and where the doctor received his primary education. My visits to them afterwards brought me within view of the Atlantic and the grand headlands of the coast for more than fifty miles. But I could not rest till I had

climbed them, and chiefly those connected with the Giant's Causeway. Many bold coast-lines have been seen in our wanderings, but none to surpass this in the number, variety, and loftiness of its headlands. Londonderry and Down Hill were visited on foot, and amply compensated us for the toil by their historic memorials and stirring scenery.

THE KIRKPATRICK ARMS.

These arms are surmounted by an inverted dagger, with drops of blood falling from its blade. The motto is, "I mak siker." We were curious to know the meaning, but reading in a History of Scotland, we found their interpretation in the life of King Robert Bruce, of which we recite the facts. Bruce, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, and Comyn, entered into a compact of mutual support, after which Bruce and Comyn secretly conferred and agreed that Bruce should resign all his lands for Comyn's promised support. This compact was confirmed by a deed and an oath of mutual fidelity. But Comyn basely betrayed Bruce, by informing King Edward of his design. The news reached the ears of a friend of Bruce at court, who at once engaged a messenger to carry the intelligence, but, fearing that a letter might be discovered and taken from him, he sent Bruce a pair of gilt spurs and a piece of money, of which on receiving he at once divined the meaning, and departed for the Convent of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries, where Comyn was lodging, accompanied by Kirkpatrick, his attendant. Bruce, finding that he was there, was received, and, entering Comyn's apartment, at once reproached him with his perfidy. An altercation followed, in which Bruce drew his dagger and stabbed Comyn. Then, hastening from the room, he called Kirkpatrick, who, on seeing him pale and agitated, inquired the cause. "I doubt," said he, "I have killed Comyn." "You doubt," replied Kirkpatrick fiercely, and, rushing to Comyn, exclaimed, "I'se mak siker," and despatched him on the spot. Sir Robert Comyn, uncle of the murdered man, entering at the time, shared the same fate. We cannot justify such deeds of blood, and after them the Kirkpatricks did not prosper. They parted with their lands, and in time were so reduced in circumstances as a family that they consulted about some means of retrieving their fortunes. At that time the fruit trade with Spain had been introduced and prospered. Their attention was directed to it, and the three brothers determined to devote themselves to its development. One brother was to visit Spain and abide there, if the business was promising, to purchase the fruit; another to reside in Dublin, and open a store for its

sale; while the third would remain in Scotland for a like object. Prosperity followed, for they brought the intelligence, diligence, and education to bear which ensure success, where it is possible. However, the most prosperous resided in Spain, for he could extend his agencies. He married and had a family, of whom one of the daughters was celebrated for her beauty. This reached the ears of a young Spanish nobleman, Count Montijos, who soon succeeded in seeing her, and became so enamoured of her beauty that he resolved on winning her for his bride. A mutual understanding was soon attained, but there were dragons in the way of their union. Without his father's consent, who was a proud hidalgo though poor, it would be hardly possible. But Count Montijos was determined to brave the difficulty. The subject was introduced on a suitable occasion, and, as he expected, his father was incensed at the proposal. "What, marry my son, a nobleman, to the daughter of a plebeian? No, never; speak to me no more on the subject!" But the son had a potent plea in reserve. "Father," said he, "you know our estate is so heavily mortgaged that hardly enough remains for our support. Donna Maria Kirkpatrick, of Closebarn, has a large dowry—enough to pay off the mortgages and leave a good balance; and, in addition to this, they are not plebeian, but of an ancient noble family of Scotland." "Well, my son, that merits consideration, and I will think about it." His pride was satisfied, and he consented to the union. They were wed, and in time had a family, but their second daughter, Eugenie-Maria de Guzman, was as famous as her mother had been for her beauty and her graces. Napoleon III. saw her, and it suited his policy as well as his fancy to make her Empress of France.

But she did not forget her Scottish ancestors, and at the summit of her greatness visited Scotland, and invited all her relatives to meet her at Closebarn. My aged friend, the Rev. George Kirkpatrick, was of course one of the invited, but being too infirm to bear the fatigues of the journey, their two sons well represented the family; and I heard from the younger a glowing account of the reception. Little did they imagine at the time that ere long she would return to England to be a widow, childless, and an exile! I am indebted to Mrs. Kirkpatrick for this part of the family history, but Mr. Kirkpatrick never mentioned either the earlier or later part.

MISSION WORK.

A casual meeting with Mr. McKellen, one of the superintendents of the Manchester City Mission, and the account he

gave of the great work done among the factory hands, so impressed me that I felt much inclined to seek admission as a missionary. The Rev. John Carey, senior superintendent, was a Moravian, and had been once in father's employment, and Mr. McGuigan, the third, was a native of Gracefield, and a Moravian preacher. Messrs. Waugh, Nedwell, Miller, and Hull were Moravians. Some of them were friends, and I knew I should be at home with them. After earnest prayer for direction, and consultation with my friends, especially Mr. Kirkpatrick, I applied to the committee, and was accepted.

Manchester was a new world to me. Its many fine public buildings, huge cotton mills, with myriads of hands, were astonishing. As the last hurried past with pale faces, coloured handkerchiefs instead of bonnets, white bed-gowns and clattering wooden clogs, they made me sad, for I perceived they had to suffer in order to live. The factory laws were not then so stringent. Afterwards, on visiting their homes, I found that numbers of them were true and devoted daughters. Sunday schools had done much for them ; of these they were either scholars or teachers, members of churches, and active in doing good. I wish I could say as much of the young men. But the exceptions were numerous, and their energy, love of knowledge, and devotion to some good work led me to form a high estimate of their ability and sincerity. Such young men are the leaders who do the work of the churches.

SOCIALISM.

Religiously, socially, and morally, Manchester was also to me a new world. Its manifold denominations and variations of religious beliefs were previously almost unknown to me. On the other hand its anti-Christian activity in as many variations of parties and names was a new study. Socialism, as expounded by Mr. Robert Dale Owen, was then most attractive to the many. The Hall of Science had been completed, and there he was heard by a multitude of admirers, as he expounded his theory of a new moral world, which could be created by the adoption and practical application of his twelve fundamental moral and social laws in communities formed and organised for this special purpose. His cardinal doctrine was that "character is formed by circumstances," and that therefore all that was necessary for the development of the new moral life was to place children in corresponding circumstances. For the poor, with families and struggling with hardships, it was a splendid, a most attractive promise. Many were fascinated, and persuaded to attempt the great reform by founding communities after Mr.

Owen's ideal. America and England provided the men and women with material means for the establishment of such communities. But it was soon discovered that the nurses, teachers, guardians, and managers did not, and could not supply the essential conditions, for they had all been more or less formed under the conditions of the old moral world. The machinery had been provided, but the motor was absent.

Again, there was the well-known fact, now accepted by scientific moralists, of the existence of hoarded moral tendencies in little children, which no circumstances can arrest, but which will continue for generations, and which a new creation can alone change. Education can do much, and circumstances much, but even when united they fail in doing all that is required to form a pure, moral character. We have still to reckon with the entail of many generations of racial idiosyncrasies, of physical conditions before we can start with the primary elements to form a new moral world. Or with what common sense calls "the Old Adam," who re-appears in every generation. Ah! could we arrest and hypnotise him for a few generations, there would be room to hope for the efficiency of circumstances. But there is only One who can say and do what He says, "Behold I make all things new." Millions are now striving hard to reform and change without Him, but selfishness still rules, and the fight for the mastery goes on, and parliaments are weary making laws to restrain and punish, but mendacious, unnatural lust raises its brazen front in our universities and schools, and systematic attempts to bring back the pagan abominations of Syria and Greece are ignored till the nation can suffer them no longer. Christian men and women have the only means ever known to form a new moral world, and if they do not use them without compromise, and without doubt, their children will be formed in the circumstances that corrupt and destroy.

Manchester was far from prosperous during my stay. Trade was in a very depressed state, bread dear through the corn laws, and a political agitation that threatened the peace of the city, growing into class alienation and purposed revenge for Peterloo. As visitors, we were painfully cognizant of great distress among the factory hands. Homes were stripped of clothes and furniture to buy food, and some even of the bedclothes that ought to keep them warm in the cold nights were pawned. This state of things was reported, relief committees formed, and the benevolence of Manchester was equal to the occasion. Thousands of pounds were subscribed to buy food, firing, and blankets, and in relief works for the unemployed. It was a joy and a privilege to be the almoners of this assistance.

One thing deeply touched me. Instead of growing selfish from want, the poor seemed to vie in their generosity to one another. The last lump of coal was broken to make a fire for those who had none, and the last meal of soup and bread shared with the hungry. And then it was done not to be told. Having satisfied pressing wants we could freely fulfil our mission, and were willingly heard. This direct contact with the people taught us much. We were no longer deceived by appearances. Life as it really is was bared to us, and the experience gained was better than a couple of years of college education for the ministry.

But I became depressed and troubled by a growing sense of inability to meet my responsibilities. The sins and sorrows, the scepticism and ungodliness about me, were greater and more difficult than I knew how to deal with. I was told I stood high as a missionary in the estimate of the superintendents, but I was low in my own. I was too young, and my experience derived from what I had previously learned of real life too limited; it was morally and practically another order of things. The mass of the population at home was Presbyterian; here they were of every creed, and many of none. Intemperance prevailed. I could meet that by my own example. I was an abstainer without a pledge, for I preferred to be ruled by the restraints of my inner life. It therefore seemed to me that years of special training were necessary for the equipment of an efficient missionary. Gradually a conviction was matured that it was my duty to turn to some other employment for which I was better fitted.

REMOVAL TO DONCASTER.

We sometimes dined with Mr. and Mrs. Hull, an excellent Moravian couple, residing in Granby Row. In conversation one day she called my attention to an advertisement in the *Guardian*, that an assistant teacher was wanted at the Yorkshire Institution, Doncaster, for the deaf. She knew my interest in them, and something of my ability to converse with them. Application was to be made to Mr. Charles Baker, head-master. That night I sought Divine direction. The profession, though making great moral demands on teachers, was one in which much good might be done by educating this afflicted class. It was also a definite object to which every mental and moral energy could be conscientiously devoted. At length, I concluded that this seemed the work to which I was called. In the morning I wrote out an application to Mr. Baker, and added some account of my education and experience

as a teacher of the young. A favourable reply was received in a day or two, with an invitation to visit the institution, to see the methods that were used as well as to give Mr. Baker an opportunity to learn more fully my qualifications for the work. Crossing the Yorkshire hills the next day, I rang the hall bell at Eastfield House, by the racecourse, early in the evening. Snow was on the ground, and it was very cold, but bright. Mr. and Mrs. Baker's reception was friendly; but I was a stranger on trial by those who, in our conversation, were seeking to discover whether there was promise about me of making an efficient teacher. I retired early, as my journey had taxed my strength. The window of the apartment assigned me for rest looked out on an immense field that seemed bounded by the walls of a distant churchyard. But the moon was up, and her light was brightly reflected by the snow-clad field. I was alone and ready to yield to doubts and fears, with a future all unknown. But I looked up to Him who had never forsaken me, sought His favour, and surrendered to His disposal.

Next day I was conducted over the school and saw the teachers at work in their classes. These were taught by signs, the manual alphabet and writing after printed or written lessons. It was exceedingly interesting. The scholars had evidently learned that I was likely to be the new teacher. Already a sign, which became my school name, was found for me, and was at once adopted, passed about, and oft-repeated. There were also sharp criticisms on my person, disposition, and fitness. More than one hundred scholars were present, and, as I glanced over them, I realised their sad privations. My sympathy was deeply moved, and for the first time the burden was felt of being their teacher. To instruct them would be difficult, trying, and make the greatest demands on patience and perseverance. In truth, such self-denial as was never required in teaching the hearing. But I was young, hopeful, and felt something of the enterprising courage which anticipates the pleasure of mastered difficulties. Upon the whole, the verdict of the scholars was in my favour. Mr. Baker did not conceal the real difficulties of the task, or that they would be chiefly of myself. This was afterwards proved to be too true. Self "must be cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd," that a teacher may apply all his resources to the work; or better, a higher self must displace the lower. For the sanguine and energetic to attain to this is a sort of self-crucifixion. But with God nothing is impossible.

When Mr. Baker and I were parting, he said, "You may expect to be appointed, for the committee will be guided by my

opinion." The impressions left by that visit, though fifty-five years old, are still very vivid. I was brought into closest touch with a great calamity, which I was almost committed to mitigate without reserve. It would be a conflict with physical laws which must be taught to act on new lines, but nature often conceals her best appliances, and they must be discovered.

In a few days I received my appointment, and prepared to leave my dear friends. Most of these were connected with the Moravian Settlement at Fairfield, near Manchester. I often visited them there, for it reminded me of Gracehill in its religious life and brotherly kindness. The Rev. David Craig was the Principal of the Academy. We had been immediate neighbours at Gracehill, and as families very intimate. He welcomed me to the house, introduced me to the teachers, and invited me to repeat my visits.

There, too, I met for the first time the Rev. John England, afterwards a Bishop of the Moravian Church. His brother, Principal of the Liverpool Collegiate School, was with him at the time. Our meetings were few till my return from Australia. Then we formed a friendship which for thirty-five years never knew abatement, and is now made immortal by his recent departure. Our truly intimate friends are only few. We may love as brethren, but friendship means a union of complementary mental and moral attributes. Our friendship was such. But his endowments were of the highest order, and he brought to every theological and ethical subject and phase of religious life understanding and resources, which shed fresh light on them, and stripped them of traditional errors. His knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was so intimate that he seemed to have studied every verse. It was therefore most profitable to spend an hour with him. Much was learned, and separation regretted. As a preacher also he excelled, for he seemed to have his mind and heart in such close contact and sympathy with the text, and was so loyal to what he believed to be the mind of the Spirit, that his preaching seemed apostolic in simplicity, power, and authority. In my special work as a teacher of the deaf he took the greatest interest, and entered into its difficulties so fully that he has often assisted me in solving new problems. I valued, loved, and revered him more than I can tell. But he is no more with us. The Lord released him after much suffering, which he had long to endure, though in his eighty-first year. Mrs. England still survives after the greatest devotion as a wife and nurse, and his family mourn in him the loss of one of the best of fathers. He was for many years the minister of the congregation and superintendent of the Ladies' School at Bedford;

afterwards Principal of the Theological College for Moravian ministers, a contributor to pure Christian literature, and the English preparer of the Text Book, first published in 1731, and now with an annual circulation of 100,500 copies in seven languages. He has several times preached for us at Castle Hill, and his sermons are well remembered for their excellency and helpfulness.

But I was bound to Manchester by another and closer tie. There I first met with Mrs. Arnold, then Miss Sarah Simpson. The family were connected with the Society of Evangelical Friends, and natives of Wellington, Somerset. They had removed to Manchester. Mrs. Simpson had given birth to eighteen children, of whom fourteen were living when I first met with Miss S. Simpson, second daughter. Mrs. Simpson was a lady of great piety, retained her personal attractions, and devoted herself to the care of her large family. My place among them was that of a son. Soon after I left Manchester she was taken home, and Sarah had to fill her place in the management of the household. The youngest being only six years old, it was a great charge, but lovingly and cheerfully fulfilled. There I learned her true worth, for I saw in her all that could make a home happy; and, as it afterwards proved, when I kept a private school for deaf-mutes, she was admirably fitted to look after their comfort, and promote their happiness. After forty-six years of married life I can now say we were *married by lot*, for the Lord gave her to me to be all I wanted as the helpmeet of a minister, a schoolmaster, and an abider at home.

ORAL TEACHING BY MR. J. HIND.

As Mr. Baker had expressed a wish when I was at Doncaster that I should attempt the oral instruction of some of the scholars, he sent me a letter of introduction to Mr. J. Hind, head-master of the Liverpool Institution, who taught a class by this method. My visit was very short, for it was limited to the hour given to their morning lesson. I heard some of them speak distinctly, and saw something of his method. But their lip-reading was defective, and they used the manual alphabet or signs in conversation with one another. However, I saw enough to convince me that it would be an efficient method if exclusively employed. This is all I had seen of oral teaching before I taught Cockin at Doncaster.

At Doncaster I speedily commenced the work of teaching, and found that its difficulties multiplied. In fact, it seemed like being among a people who spoke another language, lived a different kind of life, thought and felt unlike ourselves, and

whose pleasures were chiefly material. The sign method made them strangers, and their teachers had to become like them to understand them. Some exposition of this method seems necessary to enable readers to understand what it means, and its chief points of difference from the oral method.

METHODS OF TEACHING DEAF MUTES.

The Sign, Manual, Combined, and Literal Methods are all adapted to sight, the sense chiefly used by the deaf to obtain perceptions of objects. They ought not to be confounded but clearly discriminated, for two of them differ in origin and form. Signs, or mimic gestures are rough attempts to portray objects to others by manual movements, postures and facial expressions. They are in fact airy pictures, to which all have recourse when the name of the absent object is unknown. Deaf mutes spontaneously resort to them. Untaught they have no other language. But were one to use such a gesture for a man or a horse, and its name written so that they would be closely associated in his mind, by repetition and substitution, he would begin to think of the object when he saw its name and learn to write it, or when he saw the object write its name. This would be the first step in teaching him the vernacular which he must learn as an English boy. Arbitrary or artificial signs or manual movements are resorted to by some teachers to express abstract ideas which are of purely mental origin; relative, and other syntactic relations that complete complex, or compound constructions. They are destitute of objective significance and are really mnemonics or arbitrary signs like literal characters which revive the mental subject. But they are convenient to carry on the action of mimic gestures and make the language of signs apparently complete. But when forms of language so diverse as mimic gestures and artificial signs are combined no real unity can subsist, and a translation has to be made into the corresponding words. Thus two languages, the one mimic and the other artificial, are used by the learner instead of speech. They are radically different. Gestures have a meaning, but arbitrary signs have none. The Manual Alphabet is only another manner of forming the letters by placing the fingers in positions resembling their shapes. They can be easily learned and are facile in use, but require a trained eye to read them quickly. Writing the letters is essentially the same in principle, but different in form. The manual leaves no traces behind; the written permanent characters.

The combined method may either consist of mimic gestures or signs, with the manual alphabet and writing, or of these with or without speech, for in its present use it is very indefinite and misleading. Arbitrary signs are discarded from many schools. In others, the Manual Alphabet and writing are combined with oral instruction, or mimic gestures serve till they cease to be expressive of abstract ideas; and afterwards, the literal, in the Manual Alphabet or in writing, is the sole method.

The functions of the senses in supplying the subjects of perception are immediate in their action. In fact, we seem in mental contact with every subject of sensation instead of being wholly indebted to the marvellous organism by which it is transmitted till it is perceived; and could we present our mental images or perceptions to others, language would be perfect, but except in speech, or mimic gestures, or writing, which reports what is seen, this is impossible. Of all other perceptions of sense, as from sight, we have to construct an artificial image or picture, and mimic gestures or prints can alone be used in this method of teaching the deaf not taught to speak. The characters used in writing and the Manual Alphabet are arbitrary, so are artificial signs. But arbitrary gestures are in fact another language, and require conversion into literal signs before they are of any practical use in intercourse with others. As such they are signs of sounds to those who hear, but to the deaf signs of signs of sounds. The vernacular now used by all has been developed from hearing, and all other sensations have to take a phonetic form to be of practical value. Thought is in the images of sound, and speech is its phonetic reproduction. Hence it is the only form that best reflects the manner in which mental contact with the objects of sensation is perceived. If, then, we would follow the natural method of receiving and transmitting concepts, we ought to employ speech or touch, its twin sister.

ELEMENTS OF SPEECH.

Deafness is not the cause, but only the occasion of dumbness. In the great majority of the deaf, the organs of speech are as perfect as in the hearing. This is evident, if it is remembered that these organs have an independent existence, and are brought into imitative action by volition. Now the will may move them to this action in order to imitate the sounds heard by the ear, or their vibrations perceived through touch; for it has been demonstrated that the perceptions of the sounds by hearing, and their perceptions by touch as vibrations, serve

identical mental uses, for volition makes the one as effective as the other in organic imitation. Again, the sounds and these vibrations proceed from the same apparatus. When we who hear *will* to imitate a sound the motor nerves bring the vocal chords into place, and their rapid vibration excites similar vibrations in the air, and these are the sounds that enter the ear and become perceptions for the will to use. But the same action of the vocal chords that produces sounds for the ear produces vibrations for the sense of touch, which it conveys to the sensorium, and they become perceptions for the will to use. There is a nerve centre for these vibrations as there is for sounds, else the vocal organs would not act in the same manner. Their essential difference therefore is not in the vibrations, but in the senses that convey them to the sensorium, and the forms of the perceptions as images. But this difference does not affect the organic imitation. The will of the deaf can operate as well as the will of the hearing in producing the same sounds from the images of touch.

The infant deaf do not use their voices like the hearing, because they are kept in ignorance of the use they might make of the vibrations of their vocal chords. But let a deaf mute feel these vibrations with his own fingers on the glottis, at Adam's apple in himself and in another, when a vowel sound is uttered, they are perceived at once, and, marvellous to know, his volition will, through the motor nerves, place the vocal chords, excite the lungs to provide the requisite air which vibrates them in producing the same sound. And then, in addition to this, he knows he has imitated it by the similarity of the vibrations and their mental images, as we know that we have imitated a sound by the similarity of the vibrations.

In this manner, with the aid of sight, all the sounds of the language can be taught, for their difference is in the positions or forms in which the organs are placed, like a musical instrument. Many of these positions are visible, and can be imitated. Let touch perceive the vibrations, and sight the positions of the lips, teeth, tongue, in uttering the principal sounds, and the learner will simultaneously imitate both in expressed sounds.

LIP READING

Is nothing more than carefully noting the positions and motions of the lips and other facial organs, first in uttering one sound, and then of two or more in syllables. Thus lip reading will be learned in teaching speech. It is a long time since Bacon said, "Words are only motion and form;" and if our

scholars are apt they will perceive and use the motions and forms of all words as they are spoken. In reading anything that is printed or written the forms of the letters to which we mentally attach the sounds are used; the positions of the lips and other organs in speaking are seen, and the deaf mentally associate the vibrations of the same sounds with them, and so they are read, just as we mentally reproduce the words in reading.

TEACHING LANGUAGE.

To learn to speak is not learning language; it is only preparatory, for a word used as a name has no resemblance to its subject and is destitute of meaning till they are visibly associated; and it is because children who hear have the object and its name at once presented to sight and hearing that they learn language as they learn to speak. Let the deaf be treated in the same manner. Collect the objects, point to each, name it, and as they repeat it let them point to the object, and they will soon associate them.

The advantages of this method are great. *First*, it brings into active use the nerves whose motory action governs all the organs of speech through the muscles. These nerves constitute a large part of the cerebral furniture, and are much used; but as the brain is the organ of the mind this natural use must do much towards its development. And, on the other hand, if these nerves are allowed to remain inactive, as in deaf mutes not orally instructed, the development of the brain is so far arrested and the mental power weakened in proportion.

Second, it employs the organs of speech in the functions intended by their construction with the greater use and command of the lungs in the supply of the additional air which speech requires; and thus their healthy exercise not only develops them, but makes all articulation intuitive. So far it raises them to the same level as the hearing.

Third, by lip reading it enables them to converse with others without having recourse to signs, the manual alphabet, or writing, while it employs sight more fully and more accurately in following the labial motions. But this cannot be done without careful attention, discrimination, and reflection, which are also essential to the acquisition of knowledge and mental development.

Fourth, and not least, the employment of the organs of speech brings the will and the motor nerves into functional action, and develops them, as hearing leads to their development by a similar use of the organs of speech. Again, the action of the

vocal chords brings the nerves of touch into active use, and for the same end as the sounds produced for the hearing by their resonant vibration; and this also leads to the development of the nerves of touch in their functional use. The cerebral motor and sense nerves of speech discharge similar functions in furnishing the perceptions which volition can render into speech. Learning and using speech have therefore very important functions to discharge in the development of the brain, with consequent increase of mental activity and capacity.

Oral instruction, when consistently used, is a real following of natural laws; a legitimate and worthy employment of what the All-Wise Father has reserved in the remaining senses for the education of the deaf, and a loving endeavour to make their journey through life as happy and hopeful as our own. We utter no harsh speeches or unkind words of those who differ from us in the use of methods. Let them be convinced by the best of reasons that they are theoretically and practically superior to all others, and we shall wish them God speed. Our work is too benevolent in its object to permit the presence of ill-will, envy, and evil speaking. It is no longer a mere theory, but a fact that thousands of deaf mutes are educated by speech.

In this account of methods we anticipate the results of much after labour and study in the discovery, and then the practical application of the natural laws of speech and language in the education of deaf mutes, and which are fully stated and illustrated in the Teachers' Manual, and the pamphlets on Lip Reading, Defects of the Organs of Speech, and the Languages of the Senses.

This short exposition of the two chief methods of teaching the deaf is introduced to enable those who are not familiar with them to understand their fundamental principles, and to assist parents of deaf mutes in selecting the best method for their education. They may be combined, but only at the sacrifice of the essential functions of oral instruction, and by confounding two languages radically diverse.

At Doncaster the sign-manual method was solely used. Oral instruction had not been attempted. I was therefore anxious to have a class and give it a fair trial. But somehow Mr. Baker's interest in it did not seem great, and when he did select a class, it had no assigned time of meeting, but was assembled when the convenience of the sign classes permitted. The conditions too were very unfavourable—it might be said—adverse to success. Its members had been two or three years at school, signed freely, preferred signs, and did not like the greater attention and effort required in learning articulation, and as

they would not be able for some time to pronounce words, or to communicate with others, either by speech or lip reading, it was difficult to persuade them of its utility. This early experience convinced me that if oral instruction is to be successfully carried out, the pupils ought, from the first, to be taught apart from a sign school, and speech alone become the language of intercourse and education. Not that we would at first prohibit the use of the natural gestures that deaf children bring to school, but neither would we add to them nor use them after the alphabet has been taught. Our progress was therefore slow and unsatisfactory from the conditions with which it was hampered. However, perseverance and patience modified them considerably by the rapid progress of one youth, George Cockin, who articulated well, and acquired enough of lip reading to repeat simple exercises in language. This attracted so much attention in the school, from the evident approval of visitors, that other scholars wished to share the honour.

The parents of this youth were not aware that their son was being taught to speak. The Rev. Mr. Cockin was a Wesleyan Minister. One day he came to Doncaster on business, and called at the Institution to see his boy. A servant showed him into the waiting-room, and came to tell me. At once Mr. Cockin was seen, and told that his son would be sent for. As soon as George entered the room he saw his father, ran to him and said, "O, father, how do you do?" It was the first time Mr. Cockin heard his son's voice, and his joy was so great that its best expression was tears. He embraced him very tenderly. I shared their emotions, and perceived as I had never done before the divine origin of *words*, for they can unite minds and hearts as signs had never done. Signs have been available since the birth of humanity, but never preferred to speech, and there is no known evidence of its invention by priests, rulers, or lawmakers. Nature provided the organs, and the Almighty parent gave reason *the word* that would give it expression. Every advance in science, from the first utterances of wisdom to the latest discoveries, has assisted in its culture, because its relations to thought are nearer, and it gives wings to the emotions, like their rhythmic action.

Young Cockin's progress was not merely encouraging to his teacher; it was converting. Previously I was led to believe that gestures were indispensable in the education of deaf mutes. Now I was convinced that they were incidental to the age in which speech was not employed, and that if the oral method was initiated as early as an infant could be taught to utter and imitate articulate sounds, gestures would lose their hold, and

no longer imagined to be the original language of man, which deafness allows to be re-asserted. Hence I determined, if permitted, to form a school in which the conditions would enable me consistently and exclusively to put oral instruction to a crucial test, as compared with the sign method, with which my stay at Doncaster had made me sufficiently acquainted. I was therefore thus far provided with one of the factors, and left the other to *The Unerring Disposer*.

A MORAL CONFLICT.

About the close of the second year at Enfield House, Mr. Baker called me into his study, and said that he had received an application from the Committee of the B—— Institution for a well-trained and competent teacher whom he could recommend to take charge of their recently-formed institution. "This," said he, "I have answered by recommending you. Your appointment will be almost certain on your acceptance of my nomination." I hesitated, at which he seemed surprised, for but few teachers in the profession has had such an offer at the end of two years. I said, "While I am very grateful for your kind endeavour to advance my interests as a teacher, I fear there is an obstacle that will prevent my appointment." He looked still more surprised, and enquired what this could be. "Well," I replied, "my opinions in respect to the teaching of the Church have changed on certain doctrines of the Catechism in which I shall be required to instruct the scholars. The new movement in the Church as represented by Dr. Pusey and others will set aside their evangelical interpretation and require their literal. I have not openly professed to be a Nonconformist, but I mean to do so. If, therefore, the committee will accept of me as such I shall be happy and thankful to receive the appointment." "I can tell you at once," he said, "there is not the least likelihood of this. Better not be in haste; you shall have three days to consider the matter carefully." "I fear it will make no change," I said, "for though in many things I err, I have been wont as far as possible to ascertain my duty to God and conscience before I decide about a special service." That night was given up to prayer, but only to confirm the conviction that it would be wrong of me to profess to teach one thing and to believe the contrary. Hence, instead of using the three days, I saw Mr. Baker next morning, and told him that the conflict was over, and that my mind was confirmed in the resolution to abide by the voice of conscience. He said some sharp, hard things on the folly of excluding myself from so favourable an opening. These I passed by, and thanked him

again. "Say no more about it," he brusquely answered; and there it ended. It ought to be added that I had lately been engaged in writing a short account of the doctrines of our religion for the use of the higher classes, and that in addition to this I had attentively read the "Tracts for the Times," with some of Dr. Hook's sermons, which only confirmed my evangelical convictions.

The moral conflict had now ended, but not its effects. Conscience had approved, and mental peace followed. Nor did my work suffer, for my purposes and motives were less selfish, and more in harmony with my profession. God had committed to me the education of a number of His afflicted children, I must therefore endeavour to please Him, satisfy my sense of duty by doing my best to benefit them, and leave my personal interests to His care.

Again it strengthened and confirmed my resolution in His strength never either for profit, honour, or party interests, to yield to any persuasion to do what *He, conscience,* and the best lights of history and science did not sanction. And now in my eightieth year I assign these as my true reasons for my conduct in respect to all religious, political, and social questions in which as a Christian and a citizen I have been required to act. The moral courage, thank God! which was successful at Doncaster, has remained unimpaired till to-day. But in all this there is no special merit. I did no more than my duty like thousands more, and never have I presumed to judge the motives of another. "To his own master he standeth or falleth."

Not long afterwards I joined the Congregational Church. By birth I was a Moravian; in youth a Churchman. To both I am greatly indebted, for they taught me our religion in its purest form; but under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. S. McAll, and by his advice and assistance, with the careful study of the constitution of the Primitive Church, I was led to Independency, as, upon the whole, in form and spirit, its nearest reproduction, while it secured the exercise of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

Under Mr. Kirkpatrick, an evangelical of the evangelicals, I had come to believe in the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures in all the doctrines of faith and laws of life, according to the teaching of the 39 Articles. I had also learned from the rubric appended to the Communion Service that by kneeling at the Lord's Supper "no adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still

in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, &c." When I compared the 90th Tract for the Times, Dr. Pusey's sermon on the Holy Sacrament, with the above teaching, they seemed irreconcilable; and to find relief from such oppositions of doctrine I departed from the Church of England. This is the history of a great moral and religious crisis. But let no one suppose I held that my conclusions were absolutely correct, but those only to which I was led by the study of scripture, prayer, and faith in the best of all teachers. The sacrifice I had to make in turning aside from one profession and study for another was great in my circumstances, but I had counted the cost, and prepared to make it at the command of conscience, and therefore I did not delay to tell Mr. Baker I was ready to leave the Institution if I could not be trusted to teach the pupils. But he refused to accept of my resignation, because it would put him to great inconvenience, and that if I remained another year he could look out for an assistant. I at once yielded, for I did not wish to inconvenience either him or the Institution.

For some months I had been in the practice of conducting a Sunday evening class—a kind of Bible Class—attended by all the scholars who could profit by the instructions. The miracles, parables, and facts of our Lord's history, could be translated into mimic gestures and pantomime. Proper names were expressed by the Manual Alphabet. The congregation was usually above fifty. None were absent that could attend, for their interest was excited and their hearts prepared for the great truths they taught. Never have I addressed a more attentive or gratified congregation.

The education of the deaf, I rejoice to think, is not now what it was fifty-five years ago. The great wave of national education has at last reached the deaf and blind. At that time the Institutions were isolated like moated castles, and their teachers knew little or nothing either of the methods used by their masters or the real results of their teaching. Pure oral instruction was unknown in an English school. The training of the teacher was very much what he learned in conducting the different classes. No libraries with works on different methods were provided for him. The art was almost occult, and its study jealously guarded from those who could not pay or would not spend years in learning. De l'Epeé and others on the continent had thrown open their schools, published their methods, and facilitated their practical study, but only to be selfishly monopolised at home. Dr. Watson and Mr. Baker published on the subject, but beyond their contributions there

was nothing in our language on the history of methods, their exposition, or the lives of the great masters. Class books and lessons were either private property or the impromptu composition of the teacher.

Further, there were no lectures, no meetings of teachers, and no journals with reports of what had been done at home and abroad. America had broken the ice by teachers' conferences and books of lessons, but we did not see them. There was a library in the house, but its books were too precious to be lent. This state of things vexed me. It was true we had occasional visits from Mr. Baker, who taught a class in our presence. But the time had come in which much more was required. Signs had failed in the higher classes; clear exposition of substitutes, analysis of methods, and an impartial comparison of their respective merits, with an earnest striving to correct their defects and lead on to a higher development, ought to have followed. Hence I resolved, if time, means, and the knowledge could be acquired, to show what might be done, and supply a Manual of Methods for the assistance of teachers.

CALL TO THE MINISTRY.

Soon after my reception into the Congregational Church, Dr. McAll told me that he and the deacons had agreed to invite me to prepare for the ministry; that, if I was persuaded that I had a call to the work, the church should be informed and their approval sought, and, if this was accorded, I should be introduced to Rotherham College, and enjoy all its educational advantages. It may be well imagined that their proposal touched me deeply, and while very grateful and surprised at their suggestion, I could not at once decide on so momentous a subject. It meant abandonment of the education of the deaf, to which I had devoted the last two years and prepared for a mastership, from which my religious opinions only had hitherto excluded me. I had often thought of the ministry as the work in which I could best glorify God, but my missionary experience had convinced me that the faithful and efficient discharge of its duties required a long course of study, especially of the Scriptures and theology, with Christian evidences and the classics—Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, on which the accurate interpretation of the text depends; and then, in addition to the recommendation of the church, unmistakeable internal evidence that the call was from God. Besides, I had promised to remain at the Institution till the close of the year, and in the meantime another Institution might want a master, and not object

to me on account of my religious profession. It was therefore agreed for the present to defer the subject.

Two other head masterships were vacant during the year, but both committees refused to appoint me, as I learned from Mr. Baker, on account of my religious connection. My exclusion from the Deaf-mute Institutions, because I was a dissenter, was evident, and my mind turned to the ministry, not for a living, but as a divine calling to which I could wholly surrender. Again and again it had been suggested by my best friends. But this was not enough for me, I wanted some intimation or heart-persuasion that it was the will of God. This was the third time the Church of God had proposed to educate me for the ministry. First, the Moravians, when I was a boy; next, the Church, through Mr. Kirkpatrick; and now the minister and deacons of the Congregational Church, Doncaster. And, next to the call of God, great weight ought to be attached to that of His Church. I believed in prayer and the answer to prayer, and resorting to it in time I was heard. I also desired to hear the call of the whole Church, and applied to Dr. McAll to mention my name, as he had proposed to do, at the next church meeting. This was done, and the church was unanimous in recommending me to prepare for the ministry at Rotherham Independent College.

The Rev. Dr. W. H. Stowell was the president, and on Mr McAll's application, I was required to state my views on Christian doctrine and experimental religion. The meeting of the committee was to be held at the beginning of the New Year, and I was invited to attend it and to answer such questions as they might propose touching my personal history, &c. It was a very formidable meeting. In addition to some grave and reverend divines, there were gentlemen of great experience and keen insight into character before whom I had to reveal my heart and life. The Lord helped me, for I concealed nothing, but honestly told them all they asked to know. As soon as the meeting was concluded Dr. Stowell very kindly told me that I was accepted, and admitted as a student on probation for six months. These details are given because they are written in large characters on my memory.

COLLEGE LIFE.

In the retrospect of fifty years this was the happiest season of my life. There was nothing to do but to learn. The fountain was open to me, and I could "take the water of life freely," without the care and labour of former years. The churches, in their solicitude to secure an efficient ministry,

were led to make this liberal provision for students, and I felt obliged to make the best use of it by closest attention to my studies. Yet learning or science was not an idol to me, but a means to a great end, and this end the very Gospel to which apostles had been sent to preach—"That Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures: and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the scriptures," that men might be saved and the Church edified. It would make great demands on my time and strength I knew, for I was behind in some of my studies. Other studies that now seemed of little practical value had occupied past years. They must now be redeemed from sleep and recreation. Yet I know that those years were far from being lost in the special work to which I was called, but eminently preparatory.

Dr. Stowell was very kind and sympathetic. He often invited me to accompany him in his long walks. Then the restraints of the lecture room were dismissed, and I was free to consult him on theological difficulties, the composition of sermons, and on questions in moral and in mental science. I soon perceived his great analytic power. What he had read or studied he could reduce to its first principles with all their relations, and with a candour and fairness that flowed from his love of truth and justice. Then his sense of the beautiful in thought and language often led him, apart from his immediate subject, into the highest intellectual regions. Our admiration was unstinted while he led us on at will, but at the same time culturing the faith in divine teaching, which allows of no man being called master; or absolute dependence on the divine side and independence on the human—Christ the only master. Dr. Stowell's science was Baconian, and in theology it was applied in collating all the texts on a given doctrine to arrive at the full teaching; and in addition to this, he analysed all the leading theological systems, and required from us a statement of the leading propositions of each, with their scripture proofs. His academic duties were quite enough for his time and strength, but the college funds were not adequate to his maintenance. The charge of a church founded by John Thorpe had therefore to be added, and its duties required all the time and attention of a minister without those of a college. We saw he had much more to do than his strength permitted, and chiefly in visiting his people. Some of us felt this, and agreed to assist him in visiting the humbler members. Some also were engaged in village ministries, or took charge of a village, preached there when they were not appointed to supply another pulpit, and had a class of young people. Mine was Kimberworth, where there

was a chapel and Sunday school. Close by, an excellent family, named Barber, connected with the college chapel, resided, who entertained the preachers, visited the poor and afflicted, and taught in the Sunday school. The grand-parents, still hale and cheerful, adorned the home. My class of young people grew to be over seventy, and with them I spent many a happy hour. Such engagements as these counteracted the benumbing tendency of excessive application to secular studies, and did much to keep alive the zeal that introduced us to college. Conscious of the same tendency, we held little prayer meetings among ourselves, in which the spiritual displaced the secular. The death of one of my class when we were absent in the holidays troubled me, but she had given so many proofs of being a child of God that I was consoled. As far as I had learned, she was the first-fruit of my ministry.

PASTORAL ENGAGEMENT AT HAMBURG.

One of our students, the Rev. James Smith, who had gained the Rev. Dr. Williams' scholarship at the University of Glasgow, had been invited to the pastorate of the Congregational Church, Hamburgh, and, as some months of his course had yet to elapse before he could take his B.A. degree, he invited three of the students--of whom I was one—to supply the pulpit there three months each. I willingly fell in with this arrangement because the tutors approved of it as a favourable time to obtain some knowledge of the duties of a pastor as well as of preaching. I also desired to study the German language, and such a season would be very favourable, for in addition to employing a tutor, I could mingle with the people in the streets, warehouses, and, above all, the Bourse, to which admission was secured by a merchant's ticket. My ear became familiar with the sounds, and my tutor's exercises were soon available in daily intercourse. Hamburg is a noted place for sledging and skating. Two lakes—one of which was within the city—the Binner Alster, and the other, a much larger, outside the walls, provided every facility for outdoor exercise in both. My friends often accompanied me to one or other of these resorts, where numbers were assembled, and I could hear the language more distinctly spoken.

The late Professor Williams, at the Johanneum, who attended our church, with Mrs. Williams and all their family, were very kind friends, and did much to render my stay at Hamburg pleasant and profitable. When my studies in after years led me to read German works on the education of the deaf, this introduction to the language proved of practical importance,

A visit was also paid to the residence of Captain and Mrs. Stanley Carr, residing in a former palace of the King of Denmark on the Lake of Ratzeburg, about five miles from Lübeck. The week spent with this pious and intellectual household was altogether pleasant and instructive. One day I was taken to see Lübeck with its celebrated church and clock, Holbein's Dance of Death, &c. As one of the Hans' towns, it has much in its architecture and monuments that are fine memorials of departed times. Mrs. Carr was a correspondent of the *Times*. Hamburg enabled me to increase my library with many valuable works. As I boarded with English families connected with the Congregational Church, I seldom met with Germans in private life.

FIRST PASTORATE AND MARRIAGE.

Before leaving College, the Congregational Church, Burton-on-Trent, invited me to be their minister, and soon after the close of the session I entered on the work, but not very hopefully, for I could not conceal from myself that the staple manufacture of the town was not very likely to advance it either morally or intellectually. Not that the employés at the breweries were notorious for intemperance, but their daily allowance was enough to benumb or weaken cerebral vitality. However, Burton had many excellent inhabitants, and most of the young were abstemious. I entered on the charge with the purpose, by God's favour, to do my utmost by preaching and teaching to promote its best interests. A class of young men was soon established, and the systematic visitation of the people carried out. Branston, too, a village more than a mile west of Burton, by the Trent, where we had a neat chapel and a congregation, was visited, and a third service held every Sunday afternoon.

As the increase of a church very much depends on its Sunday schools, and their progress on the efficiency of the teachers, in addition to religious instruction I gave the young men, whose education was either rudimentary or had been neglected, lessons in such branches as would better prepare them for the business of life and for the work of the Sunday school in which they were either teachers or likely to be. One of these I found preparing the clay for brickmaking. He was naturally clever. I gave him a good start, he persevered, became a schoolmaster, and passed on to be the manager of a great glass manufactory at Oldbury, where two thousand men were employed.

In the autumn, Miss Simpson and I were united at Manchester by my old friend the Rev. Basil Cooper, B.A. We had

waited nine years till every obstacle to our union at her home and in my preparation for the ministry was removed. Forty-six years have come and gone since that happy day—years of toil and trial, which have only increased our faith and united us more closely. All and more than I anticipated I have found in her as a life-companion and a helper. At the beginning of the second year of my ministry I learned for the first time that the chapel debt was not only £1,200, but annually increasing by £30 borrowed to pay my promised stipend. The deacons were at once informed that I should not accept of such an addition a second time, and in order to avoid doing it again we would do our best by economy to live on what the people subscribed. However, sorrowful events rendered this almost impossible. The death of Mr. Simpson, and the removal of the two brothers to America on whom Mrs. Arnold's sisters had to depend, rendered their reception into our home obligatory, and in a few months it was evident that we could not subsist on what we received from the church. Our removal, as soon as the Good Shepherd led the way, was then determined upon. During our short stay, £300 of the chapel debt had been liquidated. Soon after, two messengers from the church at Smethwick invited me to become their minister. Death had deprived them of the Rev. W. Shaw, their late minister. We were students at Rotherham for three years of his residence. In every respect he gave promise of being an accomplished minister of the Gospel and a faithful pastor. We all loved him, and regretted his departure. He was also loved and admired by the church at Smethwick, both for his preaching and living. It was well for me that I had to follow such a man of God. His culture had not only been blessed with the best of fruit, but the ground was well prepared to receive the seed I had to sow.

The church at Smethwick was the first formed off Carr's Lane, of which the Rev. John Angel James was for many years minister. The distance for the aged to walk was too great, the population also was increasing rapidly, and the young people of the schools required a resident minister. A small chapel and schools were therefore built, and a church formed, of which Mr. Owen was the first minister and Mr. Shaw the second. The congregation was made up principally of those employed in the neighbouring works. These were chiefly skilled workmen. We had no rich men amongst us, and few very poor. Nearly all were toilers. Here my ministry really began, for my people were sincere, earnest, affectionate, and ever ready to co-operate in all our endeavours to instruct the young, and evangelize the neighbouring villages. What they under-

took they performed earnestly and faithfully. These were happy years, and I had leisure to give some spare hours, of which sleep was deprived, to the course of reading in patriotic history and theology, which was commenced on leaving college.

The immense population of the Black Country, many of whom lived without God or attending a place of worship, excited our interest and longing to bring the Gospel to their own doors. Twelve of the ministers of the district formed an outdoor mission. This was to continue for the summer months, four evenings every week. All did not go together, but were divided into three or four parties, each preaching in one of a group of adjacent towns. The addresses were short, with prayer, singing, and reading the scriptures interspersed, so that at least four speakers were heard on the same evening. The attendance at most of these meetings was very large, and the interest shown by the people in the addresses, and the lasting good to numbers resulting from them, rejoiced the hearts of the brethren, and stimulated the churches to greater activity.

The population of Smethwick was increasing so fast that if its spiritual wants were to be met our chapel and schools must be either enlarged or others built on a better site. The erection of a new chapel was then talked of. The Rev. J. Angel James was consulted, and he warmly approved. The first step was to secure a suitable piece of land. This was soon done, and is situated on the principal thoroughfare between Birmingham and Oldbury, which proved to be the best site in the village. Enough land was also bought for Sunday Schools. A public meeting, at which Mr. James presided, was held, and the subscriptions were so liberal that he proposed to introduce the project to his own people at Carr's Lane Chapel next Sunday, on which he earnestly recommended it to their best sympathies. He said "that Smethwich Independent Church was the eldest daughter of Carr's Lane, and ought not to be dismissed empty handed, but have a liberal dowry." On the Monday following we received from him a list of Church members who could subscribe, and an intimation that I ought to call upon them immediately by engaging a cab. Of course I complied, saw them all in two or three days, and brought back about £800 towards the new erection. The work was set about as soon as an architect, a plan, and a builder could be decided upon. In about twelve months the chapel was opened. Mr. James preached one of the opening discourses, and on the Sunday following Drs. Dale, of Carr's Lane, and Redford, of Worcester, preached morning and evening.

It was a time of great joy, and the fruit of our efforts was

seen in larger congregations, and more spirited effort in every department. But there was a considerable debt, and till it was discharged some were deterred from attending.

We laboured on with much to encourage us. Birmingham was near, and South Staffordshire on the other side. Our evangelistic influence in the Black Country was increasing. The patriarch of the denomination, the Rev. John Hammond, about 80, led the way in which the Revs. J. Cook, W. Bevan, R. Davies, R. D. Wilson, W. Creed, T. M. Coombs, W. Robertson, Rob Ann, Dr. Gordon, D. Addinbrook, B. Way, W. Hood, and W. Smith followed. We were of one heart, and one mind in the work of the Lord. Hundreds and sometimes thousands attended, and all our churches increased. A season of great blessing also came to us in connection with the Chester revival meetings. None who were present can forget those pentecostal days.

REMOVAL TO SYDNEY.

However, a change came. At a Sunday morning service a stranger was seen in the congregation who evidently took an unusual interest in the place and the service. We soon heard of him. His name was Mr. George Lloyd, of Sydney. They were in great need of a minister at Balmain, a suburb. The Rev. W. Cuthbertson had removed to Sydney some time previously, and I was spoken of as likely to suit them at Balmain. Mr. Lloyd was deputed to obtain our consent. The Rev. Thomas James was then secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society, and he used all his influence by his brother to secure my consent. In fact, all my brethren seemed of one mind on the subject, and pleaded the necessities of the church at Balmain. I could, therefore, hardly avoid giving the subject serious attention. I was a missionary in heart, and a church at Sydney was on the borders of the missionary field, and might take part in sending the Gospel into the islands of the Pacific. I resorted to my Heavenly Guide, but did not receive so clear a sign of approval as on former occasions. The ties of affection and confidence that bound us as a church in closest unity were too strong to be severed without a clearer token. Our means of living, however, were far from adequate to our support, and I had to consult Mrs. Arnold's health, which was very bad at times. Prayer was at last answered, and I yielded to the invitation from Sydney, yet not without much sorrow. My people were informed, and my reasons for removing stated. Their consent was yielded—but very reluctantly. I must hasten over this sad season—the saddest of

my ministerial life, and I know as sad for the people. They acted very liberally ; presented us with a useful dinner service and a well-filled purse. But neither gifts nor soothing speeches could heal our hearts. "God leadeth the blind by a way that they know not." I had a work to do that required discipline, proved patience, and child-like trust ; and now I can rejoice in the trials and sufferings that were my best training for its laborious requirements.

OUR VOYAGE TO SYDNEY.

The beautiful Aberdeen clipper "Damascus," Captain Alexander, carried us from London to Sydney in about three months. Half this time now suffices by the great Australian lines of steamers. We had one storm—not in the Bay of Biscay, the crossing of which was like a holiday trip, but in the Great Southern Ocean—that lasted three days. Finisterra was sighted. It is a grand headland, and worthy of its name. Madeira was also sighted, and we were so near the land that the villas here and there on its mountain slopes were in view. The island seems formed of a mountain covered with wood. It is related that one of the first Portuguese colonists set the then wood on fire, and the whole mountain was speedily in flames, but that the ashes afterwards produced splendid crops. Its capital, Funchel, was concealed behind a headland. Once Madeira was the great resort of consumptive patients, but dry warm climates are now preferred. Our immense steam fleets enable us to choose the best on the globe.

The Canary Islands were next seen, and there we had ample time in a calm of two days to see the Peak of Teneriffe on three of its sides. Springing clear out of the depths of the ocean it ascends 12,000 feet, with rocks, woods, cliffs, and a white cone —an object of surpassing majesty. Like a crowned monarch, it looks calmly down and reproves the storms and billows of the Atlantic. Alexander Von Humboldt says in Cosmos, that it is visible at least 150 miles off to homeward-bound ships. As this was very likely the last land that would be visible to us till we were off Victoria, we never lost sight of it as a parting friend till the curtains of night were drawn. Looking out for it in the morning nothing was seen but the boundless ocean, and from this time for the next seven weeks not even a sail was visible, but water—water alone. We seemed to have the ocean to ourselves. At first it was solitary, and then depressing ; and had it not been for the seabirds that followed us for thousands of miles, and the great fish, we should have felt like poor prisoners of the ocean. Two of these were albatross,

which followed the ship seven thousand miles, for they had peculiar white marks in their plumage, by which their age was known.

A SAILOR'S DEATH AND FUNERAL AT SEA.

There was a consumptive sailor on board the "Damascus." He was visited, and evidently had not long to live. Our sympathy was excited. Mrs. Arnold from her stores supplied him with better food than what came from the galley, and I saw him frequently. I learned he was single, and his only surviving relatives his mother and sister. We made his will, but there was nothing to leave except whatever his clothes would bring after his death, and a medal about which he was very anxious; for, if it could be sent to his mother, she would, on presenting it at the proper office of their society, be entitled to a small weekly pension. When all this was arranged, and assurance was given that it should be faithfully attended to, he gave all his attention to the things touching his salvation. To our great joy, he turned with all his heart to the Almighty Saviour, and found peace through the one sacrifice for sinners. During his illness I was often struck by the interest and attention of his rough mess-mates, and with the delicacy, too, of sick nurses. I had thought that a sailor's life on the sea, where he had to encounter every form of peril and roughest of weather, would have so indurated his feelings as to make him callous to all personal sufferings; but, on the contrary, these men that had sailed through every clime and over every sea were as tender-hearted as sisters to their dying mess-mate. He departed in peace, and was mourned with unfeigned sorrow. I observed that they dressed him, wrapped him up in a sheet, and over this wound a tarpaulin with half-a-cwt. of iron at his feet and another at his head, this was to ensure the descent of the remains so far down into the depths of the ocean as to take it out of the reach of sharks and all other carnivorous fish. Next day, which was very fine and quiet, the service was conducted on deck. Two broad planks were placed with one end on the gunwale and the other supported by two stout sailors. On this the body was reverently placed. I conducted the service. Every passenger and sailor in the ship that could be present was there. My own dear wife was absent and so ill I could not subdue the pangs that a similar funeral might be hers. When the time came to immerse the remains, at a prearranged signal the two sailors at the planks gently tilted them up, and down slid the body with a plunge into the deepest bed of the ocean, in whose peaceful depths it would lie till "the

sea gives up its dead." Its unfathomed bed was far beneath its surface storms, and its restfulness, with the myriads whose white bones lie there, made me think at the moment that no pyramid nor costly sculptured monument could be compared with such a grand tomb.

Some hours after the service two sailors came to the saloon and asked to speak with me. I at once went out to them, and the spokesman said, "Sir, we do not like to come to the saloon for the Sunday service; we are not fit to sit with gentry, but if you will come on Sunday evenings to our quarters we promise you that every sailor, unless then on duty, will be present. You have been very kind to our mess-mate, and we should like to hear you at our quarters." I immediately complied. But what about the water that rushes across the lower deck?—the ship was so heavily laden, and so low down in the sea, that the deck was often covered inches deep with the rushing water. "Do not trouble about that, sir, when the time you appoint comes, two of us will be here to meet you." True to their promise, they were there to the minute; and one of them, a stalwart fellow, turning round, said to me, "Now, sir, mount my back," and off he ran with me to the poop, which was fitted up with berths for the sailors. There for the next ten weeks I held a short Sunday evening service with every sailor present except those on the watch. Somehow those services left the deepest impression on memory that I have ever received in any similar services I have conducted elsewhere. Probably, the rushing of the waves, the vastness of the ocean with all its perils, and the sad, hard lives of the poor fellows whom I addressed, far from home and without domestic comforts and sympathies, had much to do in forming these impressions. I often think of our sailors with sad regrets. They encounter the greatest perils, suffer the greatest privations, are exposed to greatest hardships, and are often treated with such harshness and cruelty as to make their days like those of miserable captives. Now, too, in the Royal Navy our destructive inventions are such that a single bolt is enough to send eight hundred to the bottom in five minutes, like the "Victoria." Yet our empire, our wealth, our naval greatness would vanish without their services. We are striving to make the lives of our colliers, who next to our sailors are in greatest danger, more tolerable, but little has been done for our sailors, or their widows and fatherless children. I afterwards learned that two of our crew had left the sea, joined a Sydney church, and were respected citizens. We cannot see how it is to be remedied, but the absolute rule of captains, of whom some are tyrants, ought to be limited. On the land we are independent,

but on sea *powerless*, and one man is greater than all our Executive.

THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE.

Learning that on the following night we should cross the line, I made up my mind to seize the only opportunity I might ever have to see all the stars of both hemispheres by watching from sunset to sunrise. Now the day and night were equal in length, and the poles of equal altitude. In the tropics there is little twilight. Once the sun dips behind the horizon, night rushes in. I took up my station on the quarter deck, and began the watch. Both poles were above the horizon, and a whole hemisphere of worlds soon visible. Many of the constellations were familiar, but their places shifted. Ursa Major had dipped in the ocean, and the Southern Cross was high up in the heavens. But we confess nothing we saw was so impressive as the *coal sacks* that were destitute of stars, and suggested two vast and endless tunnels into the infinite void. It was a new conception. Canopus and Argo were there in their splendour. Orion too had taken a monarch's place, but we were disappointed by the revelations of the stellar south, and rejoiced like boys to find that in the number of great constellations and stars of the first magnitude the northern hemisphere had a great majority. A telescope would have revealed many more stars, but the naked eye was preferred, that the mental picture of the universe might be impressed and treasured up in memory. That was a great night, and I could sing—

> "The heavens declare the glory of God,
> And the firmament showeth his handy work."

At six in the morning the stars began to rise in the east that we had seen set in the west, and our watch was ended.

THE ALBATROSS.

A great storm from the West overtook us in the *rolling forties*, and lasted three days. Happily it was in our favour, and the ship ran before it a thousand miles. As soon as it began to blow, all the sea-fowl that were following us disappeared, and we saw no more of them till it was past. Where were they in the meantime? Did their instincts prompt their escape from the cyclone? The pair of albatross we had seen for many days before the storm also returned, and a third, a stranger, older and nobler than the others. It was much admired. The wind bags were so emptied by the storm that hardly enough remained to fill our sails, so that our advance was now as slow as it had been fast. One of our sailors saw the

new-comer albatross, and resolving to catch it, hook, bait, and line were soon overboard. The bait was so tempting that the poor fool could not resist its attraction, lit near, seized it, and was quickly hooked and pulled on board. Of course every passenger was soon on deck to see this splendid catch. But to our surprise, when freed from the hook and left to itself, it could not walk, but tumbled about as if its legs were paralized. Approaching very near I succeeded in taking it in my arms. The sailor that had captured it looking sharply at me, said "Sir, that is my bird, and I mean to have its head and wings as a present for my friend." A voice within replied, "perhaps." Never had we seen so splendid a bird in form and plumage. Its eyes, encased with golden circlets like the crown of a cyclamen, were brightest mirrors, and the colours of the neck from light grey, shaded off to purest white. We can hardly speak of the plumage as such. It was rather a piece of satin so closely set as to form a surface as perfect as velvet.

There was a sprightly young lady there whose admiration was unbounded. She vanished, but soon returned with a piece of blue ribbon. This she threw about the bird's neck and tied in a large bow. Now was my time; not a moment was lost; over the gunwale the albatross was flung. There he had space to spread his pinions and take his flight, with the ribbon streaming in the wind. Turning to me in anger, the sailor said "Why did you do that, sir?" Quietly I asked, "Have you never read 'The Ancient Mariner?'" "What do I know about the 'Ancient Mariner!'" "Well," I rejoined, "if you had you would have learned that the killing of an albatross is a great misfortune, and followed by calamities to the ship and all on board." He seemed to think there was something in it, and stepping to his side I said, "I promise that it will be no loss to you." So the albatross escaped to his home on the ocean, and we were much more content than if he had been decapitated.

A WELCOME MESSENGER FROM LAND.

After the escape of the albatross our voyage was prosperous. Westerly winds still prevailed, but began to abate as we neared the New Continent. One day we were opposite King George's Sound, but did not sight the land. The next few days were spent in crossing that great Bight which is destitute of a bay, a river, or a shore to attract a merchant or a colonist. When men plough the sand they will find fields enough here. A few more days brought us opposite Cape Otway, but at least forty miles off. Our progress was slow, and most of our time spent on deck. A land-breeze visited us, then the captain exclaimed,

"I smell the bush flowers." Others confirmed his report, and a cheer, with shouts of "Land! Land!" proclaimed the nearness of the shore. It was not, therefore, a poetic fancy when Milton sang of—

> "Sabean odours from the spicy shore
> Of Arabie the blest."

We were far off at sea when we perceived the rich perfume of the flowers of Australia Felix. After so long a voyage as ours, with the *mal de mer* from which my dear wife had never ceased to suffer, it was a great relief and reason for thankfulness to be only a few days more from Sydney.

1868. Our reception by the Sydney brethren was most gratifying. When the semaphore announced the approach of the "Damascus" to the South Head a small steamer was chartered in which they came to meet us inside the Head. Sailing alongside joyous greetings were exchanged, but all were strangers to us except the Rev. W. Cuthbertson, formerly of West Bromwich, and an intimate friend in the ministry of the South Staffordshire churches, and his presence made us almost forget we were 14,000 miles from the old home. As we learned on land the other brethren were Messrs. Redford, Row, Geard, Parsons, Mullins, Keep, and several more. We were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. W. Row, of Balmain. At the Antipodes we found an English home, with every comfort, hearts as true as steel, and loving as a brother and sister. That night we fervently thanked God and took courage.

The state of the Balmain Congregational Church was not what we had anticipated, owing to painful occurrences under their late minister, the Rev. Mr. Gordon. He and his supporters had separated from the Congregationalists, built for themselves a meeting-house hard by our church, and founded a Presbyterian Church. The Sunday school had also passed over to them. Those who remained were only a congregation, and preferred to have a minister on trial before an invitation was given. Of these facts I knew nothing till I was on the spot. We also learned that Mr. Cuthbertson had reported so well of us that the committee at Sydney did their best through Mr. George Lloyd to bring us out. The conditions were as difficult as formidable to deal with, but as we were there we resolved in the strength of God to re-establish the church. Mrs. Gordon was an excellent lady I knew as Miss Fitzgerald under her father's hospitable roof at Tralee. She remembered me, visited us the next day, and after friendly greetings, was about to give an account of the dissension that led to Mr. Gordon's departure, putting a tract in my hand at the same time, but I at once

told her I had resolved to know nothing of it from either party; that it belonged to the past, re-union had not been proposed nor desired, as a stranger I could not form a correct opinion of the conduct of any connected with the contention, and that therefore my wisest course was to know nothing about it, so that my preaching and intercourse with the congregation would not be prejudiced by any suspicion that my pulpit references were personal. She was disappointed, but approved of the prudence of my resolution.

That evening a meeting of the leaders of our people was held, to which I was invited. Papers were laid upon the table, and after telling me why we were there, they were about to enter upon an account of the disruption, but interposing I begged them to permit me to recount an interview I had in the morning with Mrs. Gordon, and, at its close, I said, "I mean to treat you in the same manner; please put by these papers!" They smiled, approved, congratulated me on the course I had adopted, and so the matter ended. After returning to England I read the tract, and then clearly perceived that Mr. Gordon was a Presbyterian in principle, knew little or nothing of Congregational Church order, and on attempting to introduce or rule them as Presbyterians he had excited opposition, dismissed a number, and finally disruption followed. A few months intercourse led us to a full understanding, and the formation of a church was proposed, agreed upon, and in due time effected; and at our next church meeting I received a unanimous invitation to be their minister. Thus the twelve months probation were reduced to six, and the church re-established. On reviewing our proceedings and relations as a people we rejoiced together and adored the Good Shepherd for the manner in which His flock had been led, without exciting any more contentions with our Presbyterian brethren, whom we desired to conciliate.

In the meantime the Sunday school had been re-opened, teachers found, and the number of scholars increased till they exceeded the former school. Classes of young men and young ladies were also formed. The latter was a ladies' school conducted by Mrs. and Miss Butterfield. The church was increased by promising additions. It was a very happy season.

RENEWED INSTRUCTION OF THE DEAF.

1869. The Hon. Thomas Holt, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales had been told that I was an educated teacher of the deaf at home, and he applied to me to educate his deaf son, twelve years of age at the time. He said I was the only one in the colony who understood the method,

and that I ought not to deny him this favour. I hesitated, and replied that I had come out to take charge of the interest at Balmain, and not to teach the deaf, and therefore begged him to allow me sufficient time to consult my people. To this he agreed. They not only approved, but urged my compliance, as it might lead to the establishment of an institution for the colony, of which there was much need. It was arranged that a younger brother should accompany his deaf brother, and be educated at the same time. They were to ride over from Newtown in the morning, and return in the evening. Thus I was again brought into contact with the deaf as a teacher, and in time what I did for him led to Mr. Farrar's education. The oral method was employed with Mr. Fred Holt, and the remuneration was handsome.

A SERIOUS ILLNESS.

Now a dark cloud began to rise on our horizon. I was attacked by a painful and debilitating spinal affection by which life itself was threatened. Our people were troubled, and speedily secured the best medical advice Sydney could supply. A consultation was held, and their opinion pronounced the affection "disease of the lumbar vertebre," that I must constantly lie in a recumbent position, and be cupped occasionally to reduce the inflamation. They were thanked, but I ventured to think that the affection was in the spinal nerves and muscles. Of course "I said I ought not to have any opinion on the cause of my illness, but from close observation since the symptoms first appeared, I have been led to this conclusion. However, I am bound to submit implicitly to your decision, and shall strictly observe the treatment you may prescribe."

For the next ten weeks I reclined on a couch, and closely adhered to the prescribed regimen. Mr. Anderson, who resided in Balmain, was my local surgeon, and did all he could for my recovery, but I am sorry to say without any improvement. Persuaded that the true nature of the attack was unknown to the Sydney experts, a crucial test was prescribed by ourselves. We had a good boat hanging on the davits at the foot of the garden. It was lowered, and we managed to get in. I took the paddles, and Mrs. Arnold the tiller, and without a pause I pulled it three miles out and three back. After hoisting the boat into its place, I walked to the house as upright as ever, and without pain, though I had walked down to the water much stooped, and suffering. The problem was solved. That was the best night I had passed for several weeks.

Next day we had a visit from Mr. Anderson. He said I was

better, but when I recited the daring act of the previous day, he added, "then the lumbar vertebre are not diseased, else you could not have pulled the boat such a distance." The spinal nerves must be affected. Of course our confidence in the opinion of our medical advisers was rudely shaken. We turned with all our hearts to the greatest of all physicans, and placed ourselves implicitly in his hands.

"God is our refuge, ever near,
Our help in tribulation."

Nature was then my best attendant, and I frequently invited her by being out of doors, walking and rowing as much as strength permitted. Afterwards an aged physician was heard of, who had gained much experience of nervous affections in London. He was consulted. His opinion of the case was carefully formed after minute enquiries, and specially on the effects felt of the climatic change. "You are suffering," he said, "from the undue stimulation of your spinal nerves by the climate. You are one of several gentlemen who have consulted me, and my advice to you, as to all, is to return as early as possible to England, else paralysis of the limbs will prove certain." I felt assured he was right, and thanked him gratefully, but it was not very cheering to learn in addition that the majority of similar cases had gone home to die or from paralysis to become helpless.

My people soon heard of this opinion and called another consultation of Sydney experts, in fact, the elite of the profession, but only to confirm Dr. Gregory's opinion. We must return home whatever the result might be, for evidently the climate did not suit me, nor would they give us any hope of recovery. Though unknown at the time, it was afterwards discovered, by its effects, that there was a solution of lead in the cistern water used by the family, but the climatic effects had made me more susceptible to the poison.

My people learned the medical opinion with great regret. Their solicitude from the first was unbounded, and they frequently called to enquire. We were much grieved for them. They had to suffer and wait long for a minister, who only remained long enough to see the church restored to unity and prosperity, and then to depart. This was the saddest season of our ministerial life, but neither they nor we were forsaken.

In addition to the spinal, the cerebral nerves began to be affected. Memory was losing her hold, with an unaccountable insensibility to pleasure and pain. With this came the loss of religious emotions. The home of purest pleasure, and its signs

of the Saviour's love was invaded, and so stripped that the complaint of Asaph was mine—"Will the Lord cast off for ever, and will He be favourable no more? Is His mercy clean gone for ever? Doth His promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious, hath He in anger shut up His tender mercies?" And his relief was mine. I could say, "this is *my* infirmity, but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High." My past was full of *His* faithfulness, tender mercies, and favours. To doubt Him now, when His help was most needed, would be to do Him great wrong, for I was not conscious of any departure from His love; on the contrary, I had been sustained and wonderfully comforted till this infirmity set in. I remembered He had said, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." My strength was weakness now. Well, I could trust and lean on the Almighty arm. Surely the Spirit of God was in the resolution! because from that hour I was at peace, and prepared to walk by faith and not by sight till my infirmity departed and the cerebral system righted. Let me record for the comfort of those similarly afflicted that my total self-abandonment to the faithfulness and goodness of God was followed, not by apathy, but by unwavering confidence, so that disturbing doubts and fears ceased to increase physical suffering. The greater burden was removed that the less might press lighter. The Almighty arm of the Great Father was round about, and never relaxed. This was the felt good that these evils were working out. The better education of the deaf was given me to do; but the patience and full consecration were not mine till I had passed through this fiery trial. The cross was to be borne, but I had to be self-crucified before I could take it up. Neander says, "We have to die some time in life before we can live for others."

Preparations were made for our departure. Our sisters were in situations, and would remain in the colony if their health permitted, if not they could return home. Mr. Fred Holt was to accompany us. He had grown attached, and should my health not be restored, his uncle at Harrogate would provide another teacher. Mr. Holt was very desirous that his son should see Palestine, and presented us with £50 to bear the additional expenses. One of our most cherished longings would thus be satisfied, and probably help to restore my strength. The route at that time was called the Overland, but the greater part of it was by sea. We had spent only fifteen months in the colony, but our parting with our dear Christian friends was as trying as if it had been as many years.

At Melbourne we visited the Rev. Isaac New, whom we had

well-known at Birmingham in former years. The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of Geelong, formerly of Manchester, joined us on board the "Emu," and we sailed together to Kangaroo Island. He was bound for Adelaide. Sea-sickness tried him much. As we did not suffer, it was a great pleasure to minister to his comfort. Since then he has left earth for the heavenly land. He was a faithful minister and much loved.

There were two French officers of marine on board who were returning to France from New Caledonia. One of these was the Prince de Broglie, brother to the Duc de Broglie. He was a very interesting gentleman. I observed that he took no part at whist or in the dance, but spent most of his time in reading. As we sat opposite at table, we soon exchanged friendly words that led on to long conversations. He was what the French call *religious*, or devoted to a religious life. Our intercourse was so free and friendly that he told me of his most cherished aspirations after a higher life. As a grandson of Madame de Staël Holstein, he ought to have been a Protestant, but he had been educated at a Jesuit College and passed over to the Church of Rome. Yet our conversation on points of doctrine was free from either asperity or bigotry. He bowed to the authority of Scripture, but equally so to the authority of the Church; and when a dogma of the latter seemed irreconcilable with Scripture he at once armed himself with Cardinal Newman's "doctrine of development," and replied that they must agree, for they have the same author. This was an end of controversy on the teaching of the Church, but without evidence to one who does not accept of any authority but that of Scripture. However, this doctrine of Cardinal Newman's was not, I have heard, accepted either by the Vatican Council or the Sovereign Pontiff. I am happy to say our differences did not divide our sympathies. On one occasion I ventured to inquire why one so devotedly religious had not entered into Holy Orders. "I will tell you my position at present," said he. "I am returning to France, and if there is a war with England I shall enter the army for the honour and defence of my country; but if not, I shall enter the priesthood for the glory of God and the good of the people." His company made the voyage to Suez appear much shorter, and our esteem and admiration daily increased. Since then I had heard nothing about him till I read the shocking and grievous report, which appeared in the newspapers, of his assassination by a demented nun. Of his perfect innocence, purity of life, devotion to his duties, and most self-denying benevolence, there could not be a doubt. He spent his all of wealth on the needy and destitute, and died

like a martyr. He who never errs knows why it was permitted.

We were altogether seventy first class passengers on board the "Emu," and of these quite sixty were members of the Church of England. As there was no clergyman on board it was the captain's duty to read prayers, but he requested me to take his place. The passengers had expressed the wish to him. I consented, and on the five following Sundays I conducted public worship as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and preached. A lady led the singing. The weather was very favourable, and the service was held on deck; but there the heat would have been insufferable had not our kind captain done his best by awnings and curtains to protect us from the sun and ensure a breeze. The officers not on duty were present, and all the passengers who could attend. The heartiness of the responses and the attention of the congregation showed that however we might differ in name we were united in the worship of God.

After some days of delightful steaming on a summer sea the Isle of Serpents was passed, and in a few hours more Mauritius came into view. Sitting on the bowsprit we watched one height after another come and go as we rounded the land, till they seemed to terminate in Peter Bott, standing like a huge nine-pin above Port Louis. St. Pierre was fortunate to find such an island for his Paul and Virginia. His powers of description are said by Humboldt to be unsurpassed, but great as they are nature excels his painting. As we sailed close by the shore dark cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, with open glades, negro and lascar huts, children at play on the white sands or green turf, and behind these the mountains, clothed with magnificent woods to the tops, threw their romance about us so that we imagined another Paul and Virginia wandering there hand in hand.

The gardens of Pamplemousa are most charming. Every kind of pine is said to be found there with the travellers' tree, ponds with lilies, and water fowl of splendid plumage. We left them with regret. As the cholera was in Port Louis we did not enter, but were soon on board with the ports of our cabin open and the breeze most welcome.

Evening approached, and we steamed out of port down an avenue of ships waiting for their cargos of sugar. Then the band of an American ship of war anchored near struck up "Home, sweet home!" It was appropriate; it was brotherly, and first a tear, and then a cheer conveyed our grateful acknowledgments. We were *homeward bound*, and no doubt they would have been pleased to bear us company. *Homeward bound*

became a meditation and a homily. We are all far from home on earth, for we have no abiding city here. But there is a city built by God—an eternal home prepared in the heavens, and our frail barks are thither homeward bound. To enter that haven will begin the joys for which a home here ought to prepare.

SINAI.

On the 6th day after sailing from Aden we approached the Ras Muhammed or Cape, on the southern angle of the Peninsula. It was Sunday afternoon. We were eagerly on the outlook with glass in hand. At last the huge mass loomed in the distance, and we could perceive the top of Jebel Shomer, the highest of the range. Sinai and Horeb were covered from view. Again, the old world—the world of sacred history, and the scenes of the most searching events, and the theatre of the awful words that reveal the secrets of all hearts, was almost within reach. Every feature was impressed, and all were in perfect harmony with the sacred record. Night hid all from our view, and as we passed through the Straits of Jubal we turned into our cabins, but not to sleep. We were too much moved, and the dawn found us pacing the deck on the outlook.

I had seen many ranges of mountains, but none to compare in rugged grandeur with Sinai. Here all the forces of nature had been let loose to rend and destroy. What Elijah heard and saw as he stood before the Lord on Horeb had from the first been there—"A great and strong wind which rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord, . . and after the wind an earthquake, . . and after the earthquake a fire, and after the fire a still small voice." Yes, and the signs are everywhere visible that these greatest of known forces have done their work so effectually as to destroy every sign of life to make way for the reign of death.

At last the whole profile of Sinai, with its infinite irregularities as rendered by the corona of sunlight was in view, while its face still remained in shadow. But as the sun rose over Horeb, and looked across the sea on the Egyptian ranges making them glorious in varied colours—and higher still, on the sea itself including our good ship, and as later on in the morning he looked on the whole face of the range, showed every feature, and from the purity of the atmosphere brought all so near that we could look into every waddy, and every cleft with its quartz or granite walls, see every spit of sand, every crag, the whole rugged mass of Serbal, each with its own tint and shading, sometimes in bands, sometimes grouped and commingled.

Sinai is apparently destitute of vegetation, and yet the brilliant sunlight reflected from its various masses of rock, clothes it with every colour, shade, and tint. And as evening wore on with its vesting sunlight these colours grew deeper and clearer from the darkest crimson to the brightest gold, with emerald greens, and whites and greys, lilacs and maroons, like the rainbow itself oft-repeated. O, it was something to remember for ever, but surpassing all descriptions! The sun paints the barren rocks with the finest colours, and veils the face of death with all the flowers of life. The terrors of the law rested on Sinai as we had approached it in the morning, but as we departed in the evening it was transformed into a wonder of beauty and glory. And in like manner when the Son of righteousness rises upon the convinced and humbled sinner, he passes from the shadow of death into the light of heavenly life with the peace and blessedness of the Sons of God. The wonders and delights of the material world are only types of the life hid with Christ in God.

Our stay in Egypt was short, and the voyage to Jaffa favourable, but the sea was too rough for landing, and we had to sail on past Carmel, Tyre, and Sidon to Beyrout. We journeyed on horseback from Beyrout to Jerusalem. The snow was deep on Lebanon, and the road to Damascus too rough and cold for invalids, we therefore preferred the coast road by Sidon, Sarepta, and Tyre. Summer still lingered there, and we were much favoured by the weather. Neither the heat by day, nor the cold by night was ever complained of. Our tents were well furnished for both. Mr. De Witt, of Albany, of Dutch descent; and Mr. Atkinson, assistant surgeon at the English hospital, Jerusalem, were our companions. Our fears were allayed by the presence and advice of Mr. Atkinson, who had provided himself with the requisite medicine; but more, these gentlemen were devoted servants of God, who had all the reverence without superstition for sacred sites and scenes that always interest and instruct. The Bible was our chief guide, and read at every point on the way to which there was a reference. Thus the Land and the Book confirmed the accuracy of the inspired scribes and prophets in their descriptions and poetic figures. This close connection of the people with the world of flowers, plants, and trees, and their influence on the mental and moral habits, with their complete independence of nature and her laws, have still their place in Arab faith and thought. They are superstitious, but they believe in Allah the Lord of all.

The sacred poets were Orientals whose tendency is to exaggerate and pervert the beauties of nature. But the Spirit

of God so chastened and corrected Hebrew perceptions that their actual correspondence with the objects is pictorial, and renders them more impressive and instructive. Dr. Thompson has shown that the land supplies the same imagery to the traveller of to-day as it did to Isaiah or Solomon.

HEBREW LIBERTY AND PAGAN BONDAGE.

The Hebrews looked upon the material universe as standing in a wholly diverse relation to man than the Greeks or Romans. The former believed in a Creator who did according to His good pleasure with His works. The first words of Genesis are a proclamation of His absolute power over the matter of which He made all things. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Here is no demiurge who spoils what he makes, God is the sole designer and former. The instructed Hebrew therefore believed in the absolute subjection of creation to the Creator; He was Lord of all, and therefore to be feared and trusted.

But the Greek or Roman faith never rose above the material, never confessed an intelligence and a power that could protect and deliver man from the destructive forces of nature. The dark fate that lay behind it was the abstract of its laws and forces. There was no God above it, but only in it, or a part of it, and this was dreaded because He could neither be known or influenced by appeals to justice and mercy. "God is a Spirit" waited till Jesus Christ proclaimed it to the woman of Sychar.

The difference, therefore, between the Hebrew and Greek religions was the difference between liberty and bondage. The Hebrew was free because his God was righteous, and able to protect him in greatest danger. He sung, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble; therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." This is the liberty of sons appealing for help to their Father who can render it if He will, and not the cry of a grovelling slave to the god that is crushing him, and can neither hear nor help him. The gods many and lords many of the pagans were only the deified forces and phenomena of creation, and because dreaded more than reverenced, costliest sacrifices or magic arts in which cruelty and muttered spells filled the place of loving and joyous adoration. But the Almighty God of the Hebrews heard, pitied, and saved His servants from all their enemies and dangers.

Now the so-called science that cannot or will not admit any power above natural laws restores the bondage of the pagans and the rule of fate. The Lord Jesus Christ demonstrated this fundamental error by His miracles, which prove His absolute authority over all creation. When He cried, "Lazarus, come forth," the bars of fate were broken, and the prison of despair taken—the dead lived. This is the liberty in which we rejoice to walk, and over which the gates of Hades cannot prevail. Thus we journeyed on to Jerusalem, turning aside to visit Nazareth and the sea of Tiberias, where we felt on such familiar ground, so much at home with our Lord in his childhood, youth, ripe manhood, and ministry, as to be able to picture Him in all the relations of domestic, public, and social life—a son, a brother, a toiler for the family, a neighbour, and a worshipper at the synagogue. As there is not a single record of the thirty years spent at Nazareth, save of His going up to the feast when twelve years of age, it looked as if the Father had concealed Him there till, as *The Son of Man*, He was made perfect, "in all points, being tried as we are, yet without sin."

We have only to add that our stay at Jerusalem was made most enjoyable by the kind attentions and hospitality of the English colony. Mrs. Gobat—till the Bishop's return from Egypt—and afterwards he and the clergy of the English Mission treated us as old friends, invited us to many friendly meetings, and above all to a *Tea Meeting on Mount Zion*, at which we heard addresses in eight different languages, by as many missionaries. We spent Christmas and five weeks afterwards at Jerusalem till we were familiar with its very stones. But we had to depart—came down to Jaffa, and next day sailed for Asia Minor. When the anchor was lifted and the captain gave his order, "Steam on," to the head engineer—a gentleman who had just come on board, put a letter into my hand, which as soon as time was found to read, I saw contained very cheering news. The writer was Mr. William Sutton, surgeon, Smethwick, a dear friend, who among other things informed me that the Congregational Church, Castle Hill, Northampton, were waiting for my return, for they had had such a favourable account of my work in South Staffordshire that they thought I should suit as a successor to Mr. Bennet. Dr. Dale, after a life adorned with every virtue, immense devotion to preaching and pastoral work, till he had made himself loved and admired by all the churches, has been removed from Carr's Lane to the ministry of the upper temple. I knew him as a student, as the Rev. A. James' co-pastor, associated with him till I left for Australia, and grew to love, admire, and feel that in him that I had a

true friend. If, through the salvation of God, I shall enter there, I shall find him; for "I have not long to stay here." I fear we shall not soon see his like again.

A time comes in the life of most men of action, brought about by concurrent events, in which they have to decide once for all to which of two pursuits they ought to devote all their attention, or whether it is possible to divide that attention so that neither will suffer. The admission of Mr. Farrar into my house as a deaf pupil to be orally instructed bound me to such a decision. I was the minister of a noted church with an increasing congregation. The enlargement of the chapel and schools was in construction. I was at home in my work, and a teacher of a large class of young people, who if properly trained would make Sunday-school teachers, I therefore had not the smallest inducement to turn aside to any other profession.

But, on the other hand, Mr. Farrar was with us to be instructed. I had no other pupils, and therefore the conditions were provided for which I had longed at Doncaster in order to institute a crucial test of the oral compared with the sign method of deaf mute education. Should I therefore content myself with his education, and then devote myself exclusively to my ministry? But supposing I was successful, and by him demonstrated, as it had not been seen before in England, the superiority of the oral method so that it would benefit others similarly afflicted, could I consistently with Christian principle drop the work till I had made some other teachers acquainted with my methods, and published them also in a work which would comparatively and scientifically exhibit the better method? My intense sympathy with the deaf in their sad privations pronounced against this betrayal of a sacred trust, for the knowledge was rightfully theirs, and I only their trustee.

To resign the ministry of the church of Doddridge would have been equally a failure of duty. I was pledged to remain, for they had generously accepted me and the deaf pupil I brought from Australia in whose education I was engaged. On the other hand, the oral instruction of the deaf by one who had a very limited acquaintance with what had been written or practically achieved by foreign teachers, and whose own experience was also limited, seemed hardly possible, and yet I was convinced from what I had already discovered that it only wanted the study of the organs of speech, with the mental laws that govern their action, and patience with perseverance in the culture of the voice, to enable them to speak, use speech intuitively, and feel themselves in possession of a language as mentally available as sound. In science a principle is sometimes

perceived afar off which can only be reached and demonstrated to others by the patient investigation of intermediate facts. Much study, literary and scientific, would be required for this.

What, then, was my duty? To confine my endeavours to the ministry, or extend them to the education of the deaf? As they are not alien, but of the same stream of benevolence, extending in the one case to the moral wants of the people, and in the other to the physical as well as the moral and spiritual wants of the deaf. The minds of the one class could be reached at once by the ear, but of the other by a process that looked like creating a new sense and instrument of thought.

Yet, I freely confess, my faith and courage almost failed me. The work of two was required when I felt I had only the strength of one, and yet, on the other hand, I felt that it was a divinely-assigned duty. The prophet's lips were touched with a live coal from off the altar before he could utter the oracles of God. I seemed to need some such holy fire before I could open the door freely to poor deaf prisoners. "O for a sure token" as "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees." Yet I ought not to expect a miracle; it would be a lack of faith. Therefore I betook myself to prayer, to which I had often received an answer, for this is the ordained means by which relief comes. It was used unreservedly, and at length the assurance came that time, strength, means, and provision would be made for me in my double ministry. Weakness of purpose and too great counting the cost passed away, and the moral courage that is in itself a promise of success, bracing me up to the conflict, took their place.

But to maintain this moral state I surrendered and consecrated my heart and soul to this service as I had done when I entered the ministry, not for reward nor honour, but for God's poor afflicted children, whom He had committed to our highest scientific and moral ability to restore. This was the answer I had; and it is related, not as an exceptional or extraordinary instance of the discharge of an ascertained duty, but as one more of the multitudes of instances in which God has enabled men to do His will. Such instances are numerous in the Christian ranks, and is here recorded to assist those who feel called to some special service. A duty is not determined by quantity. It may be in two farthings or in a thousand talents. Its results may be very limited or very great, and therefore it cannot be calculated on the principles of utility. "He that is faithful in the least is faithful also in much." My service would be limited at the *best, but it ought to be rendered* because it is a duty.

Twenty-nine years have run their rounds since that day, and I am constrained to say that not one of the Lord's promises has failed me. The rill I brought to the surface runs on, and will contribute its waters to others till humanity is restored by its Creator and Saviour. And to all this I am morally bound to add that I was greatly favoured in having the son of Mr. and Mrs. Farrar as my pupil. From the first day till the last of his education they confided in my sincerity and ability, patiently waited till the work was achieved that made him the first of deaf students in the empire, rejoiced with me in my success, sympathised with me in struggling with difficulties, and gave not a few proofs of their liberality. The crucial test I had devised had all the time, liberty, and encouragement it required to make it perfect.

Of my pupil, Mr. A. Farrar, jun., F.G.S., I need say little. He speaks for himself, and his literary contributions are an evidence, if it were needed, that oral instruction alone puts an intelligent and studious deaf mute in as full command of the vernacular as if he heard. But hearing never did anything for him, and was never resorted to; I was therefore happy to have him for my crucial test. He ended the contention.

The literary form in which I proposed and resolved to record my study of methods old and new, with my own methods practically developed and illustrated, are now published; and though the books are anything but perfect, yet their recognition by the profession at home and abroad, and the prominent place assigned to them by examiners of teachers of the deaf in London and Washington, are my joy and great reward as a veteran instructor. I am now in my eightieth year, and enjoy much of the pure happiness arising from the pursuit of an appointed service for the benefit of others.

HOW WE FOUND OUR MINISTER.

In the summer of 1884 our health at home suffered so much from the nearness of a pestiferous stye that we started off for Penmaenmawr as soon as we could get away. There we found convenient lodgings, and to our joy Mr. and Mrs. Beazley, with their son Raymond, who was then a student at Merton, Oxford, where he had won a scholarship and since then a fellowship. He is a historian and already well known in the literary world by his history of "Henry the Navigator." There is a Congregational Church at Penmaenmawr which we attend on Sunday. The pulpit is supplied, and on the third Sunday we heard a minister in the morning whom we all very

much liked. In the evening his sermon was very impressive and instructive. A number of ministers heard him and we talked together about it outside. Remembering we were without a minister at Castle Hill I proposed to Mr. Beazley that we should return and thank him for his sermons. He received us in a very friendly manner, but was reserved on our praises of his discourses. But I ventured to say, "We are without a minister at Doddridge and have been thrice disappointed in not finding any of them to suit our wants. Delay may endanger the peace of the church, and we pray God to send us one in whom we can be united and prosperous. I have no commission to find one, but if I tell Mr. Robinson our secretary how much we have enjoyed the services of to-day, can you come and minister to us for a Sunday were he to send you an invitation?" "Not at present," he said, "I have been too long out of my own pulpit, I could not be absent for at least six weeks." "Well, but at the end of this time could you come if he invited you?" "Well, I know of nothing to prevent me at present." "I will write to him to-morrow. Let me have your address." He gave it me and we parted. All this may seem accidental, but it led to an invitation to preach one Sunday at Doddridge, then another, and in the end a cordial invitation from the whole church to come and be our minister. We did not attempt to rob a sister church by this invitation, for we learned that the state of Mrs. Cooper's health necessitated their removal to a better climate. At first he hesitated because he did not think himself competent to all the responsibilities of such a charge, but much prayer and good advice led to his consent.

Almost eleven years have rolled away from his settlement, and his ministry has been much blessed in the conversion of souls and the confirmation of the members. Mr. Cooper was married, and they had one daughter who was the child of a former husband.

We soon learned that Mrs. Cooper was a very pleasant lady, and in every respect a real helpmate, and one whom we should have asked for him if marriages were still determined by the lot. His health has suffered much since then, and two of their children have been painfully afflicted, but they have been graciously restored, and his recent tour in the east has evidently done much to re-establish his strength. Mr. Cooper as a minister has exceeded all our anticipations. His sermons are not merely occasionally good, they are invariably excellent, and reveal the prayerfulness, the thorough study of the texts, the tender sympathy with all the tried and afflicted, with a

rare skill in putting the truth in its most attractive and impressive forms which prove that heart and soul are in their preparation. It seems as if he had discovered a deposit of pure gold, or a well whose waters are the most refreshing. Eleven years have shown no decrease in the originality with which he apprehends, and his happy manner of presenting it to our minds. Verily, God led us to Penmaenmawr to find him.

But we fear for his health, and specially his sight; its failure would be a calamity. Undue application to writing or reading sensibly weakens them. He must have help else they will fail. We have read that at one time Doddridge found his strength far from adequate to the requirements of his ministry. He could not visit as he longed, and he felt the loss of the information about the actual state of his people's spiritual needs which he wanted in the preparation of his sermons. Over this he earnestly prayed for direction, and then appealed to the church to come to his aid. They were not so numerous then as we are now, but he believed there were some among them who could share in his ministry by visiting, by personal interest in family life, with its cares, its sorrows, its difficulties, and put him in possession of the information, which, while it enabled him to economise his time, would make his own visits pastoral. He appealed to the church, and the result was that two at first were found admirably fitted for the work, approved of warmly by Doddridge, and known to be faithful, discreet, and devoted men of God. They were called Elders, and their functions were exclusive of the secular interests of the church to which the diaconate is called. Time proved that it answered well. Let me suggest that this is what we specially want as a church to bring us together in the conscious unity of our brotherhood, and lighten the anxieties and labours of our dear minister. I therefore presume to speak as a brother in the membership of the church, whose interest in it can never cease.

Our stay at Penmaenmawr surpassed our anticipation, in the restoration of health, in meeting our future pastor, and in addition, gave us the unexpected pleasure of meeting with the Rev. Joseph Beazley, whose friendship we enjoyed at Sydney when I most needed wise advice and sympathy in the difficult task already referred to. In my illness also he was also my teacher and comforter, for he too had known seasons of great trial. He married Mrs. Beazley when he succeeded the Rev. J. Sherman at Blackheath. Every day we saw each other, climbed the hills for fairest views of sea and land, left our foot-prints on the sand, while Teenie, with bare feet scattered the

wavelets, or with her can and spade formed lakes, rivers, and sandhills, till the tide left not a trace of them. Everything invited us to rest, and that better land of which we saw more than a type and a promise.

At home, also, we have often returned in fancy to Penmaenmawr and its glorious views, which have helped us the better to anticipate with Wordsworth our return to the home of God whence we have come.

"Hence in a season of calm weather
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither;
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

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